FBIS DAILY REPORT CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 174 *9 September 1981*

ALBANIA

'Soviet Social Imperialists' Threaten Poland B 1

BULGARIA

Celebrations, Awards Mark Zhivkov's 70th Birthday C 1
Central Committee Ceremony C 1
Lilov Speaks at Dinner C 2
Decorated by State Council C 4
Party, State Greetings C 4
Council of Ministers Meets C 7
Officials Attend 4 Sep Celebration C 7
Kubadinski Tribute to Zhivkov C 7
Dailies Observe Birthday C 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Polish Solidarity, Congress Proceedings Scored D 1
Opposing Socialism D 1
[Minarik in Bratislava PRAVDA 5 Sep]
Makeup of Participants D 3
'Antisocialist Proceedings' D 3
'Counterrevolution Grows' D 4
[Lipavsky in RUDE PRAVO 4 Sep]
DRA Delegation Departs Following Cooperation Talks D 6
RUDE PRAVO Criticizes Abuse of CPCZ Membership [5 Sep] D 6
Party Secretaries Confer on Membership Goals D 7

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Erich Honecker Leaves for Mexico on State Visit E 1
Werner Krolikowski Pledges Support for Angola E 1
Sending Troops to Developing Countries Defended E 1
Herrmann Receives Smirnov-Led CPSU Delegation E 2
Details of Chemical Contracts With USSR E 2
Party, State Delegation Visits Leipzig Fair E 2
FRG Citizen Sentenced to 15 Years for Espionage E 3
Army Delegation Arrives in Aden for Anniversary E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Sep]
Officials Pay Condolences at Iranian Embassy E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4 Sep]

HUNGARY

Czinege Departs for Soviet Military Exercises F 1
Soviet Military Maneuvers Reported on TV F 1
Solidarity Congress, Polish Events Covered F 1
USSR Shows Increasing Concern F 1
NEPSZABADSAG on Congress F 1

NEPSZABADSAG Criticizes U.S. on Arms Control F 2
Kadar Receives Argentine CP Leader Fava F 3
Lebanese Delegation Arrives in Hungary F 3
Col Gen Csemi's Delegation Returns From PDRY F 3
Leaders Send Message on Vietnamese Holiday F 3
MSZMP Official on Importance of Ideological Work F 4

POLAND

Further on 8 Sep Solidarity Congress Session G 1
Four Draft Resolutions G 1
AFP on Worker Referendum G 1
Debate on Self-Management G 1
Other Resolutions G 2
Resolution on Union Aims G 3
Resolution on Bydgoszcz Events G 3
Mass Media Access Discussed G 4
Workers, Invalids Resolutions G 5
PAP Details Proceedings G 5
Message to Eastern Europe TUs G 7
AFP Carries Message Text G 7
Walesa Interview on TU Tasks G 8
9 Sep Congress Session Discusses Statutory Matters G 8
Press Union Offers To Aid Solidarity-TV Dispute G 9
National Media Reports on Solidarity Congress G 9
ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Attacks TU G 9
Restricted Information Scored G 10
TRYBUNA LUDU Views Congress G 10
Issue of CEMA Invitations G 11
Media Plays Down Congress [AFP] G 11
Further on Bydgoszcz Prison Escape, Developments G 12
10 Escapees Recaptured G 12
Major, Adjudicator Comment G 12
Statement on Private Farmers-Government Talks G 14
Rural Solidarity Leader Antol Interviewed G 16
[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA 27 Aug]
Warsaw Solidarity Anniversary Exhibit Demolished G 19
[TRYBUNA LUDU 2 Sep]
Hijacker Was Former SOLIDARNOSC Messenger G 19
Jaruzelski Receives Defense Employees' TU Members G 19
Journalists' Association Urges Media Agreement G 19
Rakowski Appeals for Commonsense Over Emotions G 20
General Nowal Addresses Third PZPR Plenum 2 Sep G 20
[TRYBUNA LUDU 3 Sep]
TRYBUNA LUDU Reports Coalmine PZPR Premises Raided [4 Sep] G 21
Rakowski Interviewed on Relations With Solidarity G 22
Barcikowski TV Interview on Sejm Activities G 31
Warsaw Reports Council of Ministers 8 Sep Session G 36
Former Mining Minister Kulpinski Goes on Trial G 36
Sejm Subcommittee on Self-Management Ends Work G 37
Institute Views Draft Laws on Self-Government G 37
New Labor Law Reform Commission Appointed G 37
Soldier Faces Contemporary 'Fifth Columnists' G 38
[Woznicki in ZOLNIERZ WODNOSCI 20 Aug]
TV Reports on Joint Polish-Soviet Troop Training G 39
Party Delegation Visits Moscow CPSU Officials G 40
PAP Reports Purchases of Soviet Farm Machinery G 40
Rakowski Holds Talks With Mitterrand Adviser G 40

ROMANIA

Industrial Ministries Reorganized; New Appointments H 1
Ceausescu Congratulates Zhivkov on Birthday H 1
[SCINTEIA 6 Sep]
SCINTEIA Marks Zhivkov's Birthday With Praise H 2
Zhivkov Awarded Highest Order With Sash H 3
CSSR's Indra Visiting at Invitation of GNA H 3
Arrives in Bucharest 7 Sep H 3
Giosan Receives Indra H 3
Talks With Burtica H 3
RCP Greets Belgian Communists on Anniversary H 4
[SCINTEIA 4 Sep]
Ceausescu Meets Suriname Foreign Minister H 4
Andrei Meets With Al-Fatah Official 8 Sep H 5
Officials Offer Condolences at Iranian Embassy H 5
Egyptian Industry Minister Concludes Visit H 5

YUGOSLAVIA

PCI's Berlinguer Arrives on Visit to Belgrade I 1
Talks With Mojsov I 1
Talks Continue I 1
Meets LCY Presidium Members I 1
Berlinguer Departs I 2
Chief of General Staff Returns From Hungary I 2
Current Situation, Progress in Kosovo Discussed I 2
LCY Presidium Session I 2
Serbian Leadership Discussion I 3
Serbian Official Comments I 3
Production, Personal Income I 4
Communal Committees Comment I 4
More on Communal Committees I 4
Kosovo Villages To Be Electrified in 1981 I 5
Pec Courts Sentence Counterrevolutionaries I 5
Serbian Priests Jailed for Inciting Intolerance I 6
Fodder Shortage Disrupts Meat Market in Serbia I 6
[BORBA 1 Sep]

'SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS' THREATEN POLAND

AU051928 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Unattributed commentary: "Large-Scale Military Maneuvers of the Soviet Social Imperialists Near Poland's Borders"]

[Text] Agencies report that Soviet land and naval forces began maneuvers yesterday in the vicinity of Poland's borders. These maneuvers, which will be conducted over a large area of Belorussia and the Baltic Republics, are being carried out by a large number of both regular and reserve troops. This new demonstration of force by the Soviet social imperialists is being directed by Minister of Defense Ustinov. Agencies point out that this is the first time that Ustinov has personally commanded military maneuvers since his appointment. Meanwhile, some 100 Soviet warships have been concentrated in the Baltic Sea since the beginning of August and have been conducting maneuvers which are being described as the largest ever carried out by the aggressive Soviet fleet. As reported, it has been many years since Soviet maneuvers have been carried out over so vast an area and in such large numbers, and there has never been such a concentration of the Soviet fleet since World War II.

Agencies also report that ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, the organ of the Polish Army, stated yesterday that joint maneuvers were conducted recently in northern Poland by units of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army and by Polish units stationed in Pomerania. These included units of the second mechanized division of the Polish Army and tank units of the Soviet Army's northern group. Joint Soviet-Polish maneuvers, as has been reported, also took place during the month of August with the participation of Czechoslovak troops and under the command of Marshal Kulikov, the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact forces, who was on an official visit to Poland at the time. Other military maneuvers were conducted in mid-August on East German territory, in the vicinity of Poland.

Although Poland is never mentioned in the Soviet press when such demonstrations of force take place in and around Poland, and although the usual slogans about the defense of the fatherland and the securing of peace in the world are bandied about abundantly on such occasions, it is obvious that all these feverish preparations by Soviet troops are aimed at Poland, where the troubled situation that has prevailed in that country for more than 9 months is becoming increasingly more chaotic. The feverish political and military activity carried out recently by the Moscow social imperialists is testimony to the fact that they are doing their utmost to prevent these vassal countries from breaking away from their sphere of influence. The threats and blackmail range from numerous demonstrations of force to the summoning of the Warsaw revisionist leaders by Brezhnev for consultations about the situation in Poland. They include visits by Gromyko, Kulikov and Yepishev to Warsaw, and the presence of hundreds of thousands of troops belonging to the 59 Soviet divisions stationed within Poland and around it, which have been on a state of alert for over 9 months and are ready to move at any time in order to take care of the vassal, as they did in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and more recently in Afghanistan. This is also the context in which these maneuvers are being conducted, maneuvers in which--as PRAVDA writes--include units that have gained experience in Afghanistan.

CELEBRATIONS, AWARDS MARK ZHIVKOV'S 70TH BIRTHDAY

Central Committee Ceremony

AU071531 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Today Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general, State Council chairman and noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement, celebrates his 70th birthday. On this occasion, a festive ceremony took place at the BCP Central Committee today at which Comrade Todor Zhivkov was awarded the Second Star of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Georgi Dimitrov Order.

The ceremony was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dorbi Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov; State Council members; National Assembly deputy chairmen; BCP Central Committee department heads; members of the Council of Ministers; members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Permanent Board; first secretaries of the BCP Okrug Committees; and leaders of public and creative organizations and unions.

Comrade Peko Takov read the State Council decree:

[Begin Takov recording] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, decree No 1,860: The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria enacts: Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is awarded for the second time with the Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on his exceptional merits with regard to the party and the people in the struggle against fascism and capitalism, and in the construction of the socialist society in Bulgaria; on his contribution to strengthening peace and security, and the unity and cohesion of the progressive and revolutionary forces throughout the world; and on his 70th birthday. Sofia, 6 September 1981, Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council. [applause] [end recording]

Accompanied by the stormy and prolonged applause of those attending the ceremony, Comrade Petur Tanchev awarded the Gold Star to Comrade Todor Zhivkov. On behalf of all those attending the ceremony he wished Comrade Zhivkov long life, good health and happiness, so that he can continue to work with as much inspiration as always for the triumph of the great ideas of communism.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov thanked the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers on being awarded for the second time with the Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria title--the highest Bulgarian distinction.

Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, most cordially greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov on behalf of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on his personal behalf and on the behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries. He greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the high USSR distinction--the Order of Lenin--which has been bestowed on Comrade Todor Zhivkov by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

This morning Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman was visited in his office and greeted by representatives of the public, relatives and combat friends from his native village of Pravets and the Botevgrad area. Afterwards, warm greetings were addressed to the loyal son of the party and the people, the worthy heir and continuer of the great cause of Blagoev and Dimitrov, universally recognized leader of the party of Bulgarian communists, ardent fighter for Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement by the BCP Central Committee Politburo members and candidate-members, and Central Committee secretaries.

Afterwards Comrade Zhivkov was greeted by the members of the State Council and the Bureau of the Council of Ministers; the deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; the leaders of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian trade unions; the Dimitrov Komsomol; the Central Committee of the Active Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism; combat friends from the Chavdar Brigade and leaders of ministries.

Workers, agrarian workers and representatives of the people's intelligentsia and hundreds of collectives throughout the country are coming to the party house and the Georgi Kirkov Hall lobby today to wish Comrade Todor Zhivkov good health and long life, and much forcefulness, cheerfulness and creative enthusiasm for the benefit of the people and the motherland.

Lilov Speaks at Dinner

AU071941 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 7 Sep (BTA)--"Todor Zhivkov entered our history as one of the most prominent builders and leaders of modern Bulgaria." This is the evaluation which the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people gave their leader on the day of his 70th birthday.

At a solemn dinner in Sofia given by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council and the Council of Ministers in honour of the birthday of Mr Todor Zhivkov, Mr Aleksandur Lilov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, said that the hero of the anniversary is a remarkable son of the party and the people, a worthy successor and continuer of the deed of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, an all-recognized leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, an outstanding figure of the international communist and workers' movement.

The speaker said that the enormous revolutionary, political, theoretical and statesmanlike deed of Mr Todor Zhivkov has played, still plays and will continue to play an exceptional role in the development of Bulgaria.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov dwelt on the contribution of Mr Todor Zhivkov to the struggle against monarcho-fascism, to the strengthening of the popular democratic power, to the restoration of the national economy and to paving the way to stepped-up socialist construction.

The speaker said that in the years of hardship, most of them connected with the cult of the personality, Mr Todor Zhivkov made himself prominent as one of the most far-sighted and most resolute party leaders, capable of rallying the Dimitrov cadres of the Central Committee and waging a struggle for the restoration of the Leninist principles of leadership and party life. Under his leadership the Central Committee of the party restored the Leninist principles and norms in the party and society and along with it put up a resolute opposition to both sectarianism and dogmatism, revisionism and the petty bourgeoisie upsurge.

Speaking about the development of Bulgaria in the wake of the April plenary session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party of 1956, Mr Aleksandur Lilov stressed that the impressive headway made by the people under the leadership of the party is and will remain forever associated with the immense and multilateral personal contribution of Mr Todor Zhivkov.

He dwelt also on the contribution of Mr Todor Zhivkov to the improvement of the ideological and political life of the party, to social management and the promotion of socialist democracy, to the brisk development of the economy, to the socialist reformation of agriculture, to the flourishing of socialist culture.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov said that the theoretical heritage of Mr Todor Zhivkov is an impressive capital for the Bulgarian Communist Party.

"Todor Zhivkov won himself the name of a great figure of the international communist and workers' movement, a consistent internationalist and peace champion, one of the most popular and respected statesmen of our time," said the speaker.

He pointed to Mr Todor Zhivkov's capital contribution to the development and deepening of the ties of Bulgaro-Soviet friendship and their raising to a qualitatively new stage--the stage of all-round cooperation and closeness.

"Let the love he shares with the party and the people be never extinguished. Let it grow constantly and let it grow deeper. Let his two remarkable qualities be preserved and forever manifested: his audacious spirit of innovation and his sincere sociability. The first keeps his hand firmly on the pulse of history, the second, on the pulse of the people. The two combined make him a great and original politician and statesman," said Mr Aleksandur Lilov.

The secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first vice president of the State Council, Mr Petur Tanchev, who congratulated Mr Zhivkov on behalf of the agrarians, said that in Bulgaria's modern history, Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Dimitrov and Todor Zhivkov are the grandest political figures, the most outstanding leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, who raised the authority of the revolutionary workers' movement and of the country up and far beyond her borders.

"We, the members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Party, hold in high esteem and we shall never forget the historic role of Todor Zhivkov in further raising the communist-agrarian unity in action and opinion up to its present-day unprecedented heights. We hold him in high esteem for his role as a great political and creative factor in the building of advanced socialism," stressed Mr Petur Tanchev.

Mr Todor Zhivkov was also congratulated by representatives of the working class, the people's intelligentsia, the veterans of the revolutionary movement, the younger generation and from people of his native place.

"The main happiness in my life, my luck, was my joining the ranks of the working class, the conversion of the peasant boy into a worker. In the working team I became a particle of the great power called upon by history to do away with the capitalist system and to build up a communist society," said Mr Todor Zhivkov in his response to the speeches.

We, my generation of communists, he went on, succeeded a party of extraordinarily great prestige among the international communist and workers' movement. Over the past two and a half decades we defended with honour and further asserted the name of the Bulgarian Communist Party as a Marxist party, internationalist party, party under the leadership of which a people overthrew the bourgeois power to establish a flourishing socialist society.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian state are making consistent and firm efforts at strengthening the unity of the progressive forces and their backbone--the world communist and workers' movement, conducting an active foreign policy of peace and understanding.

"Shoulder to shoulder with the countries of the socialist community, in close ties of friendship with the Soviet Union, unswervingly faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, confidently led by her communist party, Bulgaria strides in the fore ranks of the struggle for freedom, for peace, for social progress, for communism," said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Decorated by State Council

AU061808 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 81

[Text] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has issued a decree awarding for the second time the title Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, on his exceptional merits with regard to the party and the people in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and in the construction of the socialist society in Bulgaria, as well as on his contribution to strengthening peace and security, and the unity and cohesion of the progressive and revolutionary forces throughout the world, and on his 70th birthday.

Party, State Greetings

AU071430 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 81

["Text" of greetings message from the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the State Council, on his 70th birthday]

[Text] Dear Comrade Zhivkov, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are greeting you most cordially on your remarkable 70th birthday, and on your being awarded for the second time with the title of Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In you, we greet the loyal son of the party and the people, the worthy heir and follower of the great Blagoev-Dimitrov cause, the universally recognized leader of the BCP, the sincere friend of the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement. Your selfless revolutionary struggle against fascism and capitalism and your tireless and fruitful activity in constructing the socialist society are an inspirational example of selfless activity in the service of the workers' class and the Communist Party, the people and the motherland, and devotion to their happiness and prosperity.

Born and educated in the bosom of the working people, inspired by its freedom-loving and revolutionary traditions and tempered in the fighting ranks of the workers' class, you, Comrade Zhivkov, are a bearer and mouthpiece of the most precious qualities of our glorious BCP. You are one of the brightest representatives of the heroic generation of party leaders who decisively supported the party's Dimitrov course and waged a life-or-death struggle for the victory of the 9 September socialist revolution. Your merits in organizing and conducting the armed struggle against the monarchy-fascism and the Hitlerite invaders are great. Your name as a firm revolutionary-communist and a bold and talented party and partisan leader will forever shine among the galaxy of revolutionary heroes inscribed in the annals of our people. You most actively participated in the direct leadership of the partisan movement in the first partisan operational region, and in the combat actions of the glorious partisan unit, Chavdar, which operated in the immediate vicinity of Sofia, where the most powerful police and military forces of fascism were concentrated.

In the memorable days of September 1944, the BCP Central Committee entrusted you with the responsible task of organizing the operational bureau to coordinate the actions of the partisans and the combat unit of the armed antifascist forces in Sofia and around the city, which inflicted a crucial blow to the fascist government and which, with the decisive assistance of the Red Army, ensured the victory of the 9 September people's revolution.

After the historic victory, you, as a BCP Central Committee member, secretary of BCP Sofia Oblast and City Committees, chairman of the Sofia City Fatherland Front Committee, and chairman of the Sofia City People's Council, being a loyal pupil and collaborator of Georgi Dimitrov, gave your contribution to consolidating the people's democratic government and asserted yourself as a charming leader and organizer of the working people. Under your leadership, the BCP Sofia City organization turned into a leading and loyal unit of the party and a stronghold of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

Our party and people are proud of your exceptional merits and personal contribution to the April 1956 plenum of the BCP Central Committee, to forming and implementing the April party line--the Leninist general line of the BCP in the period of completing the transition from capitalism to socialism and in the conditions of victorious socialism, and to the struggle for constructing the developed socialist society and gradual transition toward communism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

For more than 25 years, you have wisely and confidently held the helm of the party and state leadership and have contributed the force of your intellect and the flame of your heart as well as your great creative energy to the comprehensive progress of the country. All principal events in the life of our society and the successes of our foreign and domestic policy during this period have been inseparably connected with your name, which became a symbol of the creative Marxist-Leninist essence, and the dynamism, innovation and vitality of the April line, which transformed our country and turned it into a developed industrial-agrarian social country, which has a place in the front ranks of the world social progress.

Intimately connected with the people's struggle and life, you, Comrade Zhivkov, are deservedly enjoying the love, esteem and confidence of the communists, the united agrarians, the Fatherland Front members, the youth and the millions of working people in Bulgaria. The past 25 April years were years of a powerful upsurge and the creative energy of the people's masses, which, under the tested leadership of the party and its Central Committee, implemented great transformations in all areas of our socialist construction.

Your everyday concern for strengthening and increasing the leading BCP role, strengthening its connections with the people's masses and for consolidating and developing the Leninist principles and norms in party and social life, as well as for uniting the cadres of all generations and creating an atmosphere of confidence and collectivism, friendly cooperation and high principles is invaluable. If today the party of the Bulgarian communists is a healthy and powerful Marxist-Leninist party, if it is closely connected with the people and if it is closely united around its April line, it is because you, Comrade Zhivkov, are in a timely and scientific way studying the current processes of its development and enriching and perfecting its capability to act as a highly organized and purposeful social force.

Under your direct leadership and personal participation, the new party program was worked out. This program is the concentrated expression of the ideological, theoretical and practical contribution of the BCP to the theory and practice of socialism. Your multifaceted theoretical activity encompasses the key problems of our social development. Your name will forever be connected with Bulgaria's new constitution, which includes the legal basis of constructing the developed socialist society.

Your postulates for the new quality organizational and economic forms of concentration and specialization of industry and agriculture and their organic connection with the scientific-technological progress for the general intensification of production and for the accelerated increase of the productivity of labor are examples of the creative application and development of the Marxist-Leninist theory and policy under the concrete conditions of Bulgaria. So also are your postulates on the new economic approach and its mechanism and on the legal basis, problems and tasks of raising the working people's standard of life; perfecting society's political system; further developing the socialist democracy; and on constructing the armed forces and strengthening the country's defensive capability.

The concern you have shown for the progress of our socialist spiritual culture, for developing Bulgarian science, people's creativity and education, for preparing the new generation for a complete life and forming a personality with a high class, party, patriotic and international awareness is great and continuous. The BCP Central Committee report to the BCP 12th Congress, read by you, was a new and valuable contribution to the party's theoretical-political thought. This report made a profound analysis of our country's most important processes and outlined the basic directions and key tasks of the April domestic and international policy in the present historic period. Your feverish activity, Comrade Zhivkov, as a professional revolutionary and Lenin-type statesman, is a bright example of combining the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism with the necessity to develop the people's patriotic awareness and unity as buildiers of the new society and total owners of the country which is a worthy and loyal member of the socialist community led by the USSR.

Your merit in raising the sacred Bulgarian-Soviet friendship to new heights is invaluable. This is one of the basic and powerful moving forces of our social development. Your being awarded the title Hero of the USSR and the Order of Lenin is an expression of the recognition of these merits. We are proud of your contribution to strengthening the indestructible alliance with the fraternal countries of the socialist society, the international solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties, and our solidarity with the struggle of our brothers in class and goals throughout the world. You are constantly developing and multiplying the glorious international traditions and the rich revolutionary capital of the BCP. The prestige of the party of the Bulgarian communists, which recently celebrated its 90th anniversary, is constantly growing among the communist and workers' parties, the world national liberation and progressive movements. Thanks to your tireless activity,the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is consistently and constructively developing. This is a policy permeated by the spirit of peace, understanding, and goodneighborliness. This foreign policy course confirmed Bulgaria as a constructive factor in the international cooperation, detente and security of the Balkans, Europe and the world, and you, Comrade Zhivkov, as one of the respected and popular political and state figures of our time. Your being awarded with the title Laureate of the Dimitrov Award for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress and with the Gold Medal of Peace was a deserved expression of this fact.

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, with your comprehensive political and state activity, you rank next to Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov as one of the most noted leaders of the BCP and the Bulgarian people, forged in the revolutionary struggles for social and political justice and in the years of socialist construction. During the 70 years of your life, you have faced the most strenuous tests of two eras. History tested your qualities and abilities in the merciless class struggles and in the socialist construction. In these years that were fateful for Bulgaria, you brightly demonstrated your talent as party and people's leader.

Your actions in creatively solving the ripe problems of social development, and simultaneously in constantly preserving a strong connection with the immediate needs and sacred dreams of the people are an exceptionally valuable characteristic of yours, which have influenced the entire party activity.

Expressing the deep respect and love of all communists and working people throughout the country to you, Comrade Zhivkov, we fraternally embrace you and most cordially wish you good health, cheer, and might and creative longevity, so that you may work and struggle tirelessly and selflessly for the benefit of the people and for the further progress of our ancient and eternally young socialist motherland, which is proudly crossing the threshold of its 14th century of existence.

Council of Ministers Meets

AU071929 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] On 7 September the members and associates of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers marked the 70th birthday of Comrade Todor Zhivkov at a festive meeting. Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke. He stressed that our first party and state leader asserted himself in the hearts of Bulgarian communists, the working people and the entire people as a bold revolutionary, consistent Marxist-Leninist, a worthy continuer of the immortal cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov and the acheitect and builder of the BCP Leninist April line.

Officials Attend 4 Sep Celebration

AU042040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Excerpt] A bust of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, was festively unveiled in Pravets Village today. On the occasion of his 70th birthday, a meeting was held with the participation of Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov.

Kubadinski Tribute to Zhivkov

AU042037 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 4 Sep (BTA)--In the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the birth of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, a bust of him was inaugurated today in the village of Pravets, his native place.

At the inauguration ceremony Mr Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front said: "The inauguration of the bust is an expression of the high appreciation of the extraordinary merits of the top Bulgarian party and state leader both in the struggle of the party and the people agianst the monarcho-fascist tyranny and in the 37-year long period of socialist construction in Bulgaria. It is also an expression of the sincere love and respect Mr Todor Zhivkov enjoys among the whole Bulgarian people, a recognition of his enormous authority in this country and abroad".

The speaker spoke about the highlights of Mr Todor Zhivkov's life. He emphasized his early affiliation to the struggles of the Bulgarian working class, his fast growing up as a brave and quick-witted professional revolutionary. Mr Pencho Kubadinski stressed his brilliant talent as a leader and organizer during the armed struggle in the country against monarcho-fascism, which reached its peak in organizing and leading the legendary guerrilla brigade of "Chavdar".

Further on Mr Pencho Kubadinski emphasized the extraordinary services of Bulgaria's top leader in the taking of the historic decisions of the April plenum of the CC of the BCP held in 1956 for the establishing and carrying through of the April line of the BCP--the Leninist general line of the party, which restored the Leninist norms of party and state life. He added that Mr Todor Zhivkov is a generally acknowledged creator, strategist and inspirer of this line.

Mr Pencho Kubadinski emphasized that the hero of the jubilee is a true and talented follower and successor of the cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, who develops their revolutionary work under qualitatively new social conditions. Stress was laid on his contribution to uniting all generations of party cadres in the country in the building up of the socialist society.

Mr Pencho Kubadinski also dwelt on Mr Todor Zhivkov's theoretical contribution to the creative application, development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist teaching in Bulgaria's specific conditions.

The speaker stressed the systematic care being taken by Mr Todor Zhivkov for the development and improvement of the socialist democracy, for raising to a new level the interrelations of the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, for raising the role and expanding the functions of the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions and the Dimitrov Young Communist League.

Pencho Kubadinski underlined Mr Zhivkov's creative and tireless activity in the formation and pursuing of the Bulgarian foreign policy. In this connection it was pointed out that his enormous activity is incorporated in Bulgaria's constantly growing international authority. He added: "Mr Todor Zhivkov is a highly appreciated, deeply and sincerely respected party and state leader, one of the most famous political figures of our time."

Stress is laid in the speech on the extraordinary services of the top Bulgarian Party and state leader for the development and flourishing of the life-giving Bulgaro-Soviet friendship, for its raising to a new, higher stage--the stage of all-round cooperation and getting closer together of the BCP and the CPSU, of the two countries and peoples. Mr Pencho Kubadinski emphasized: "Mr Todor Zhivkov is unflinchingly fighting for and defending with unfading energy the cohesion and might of the world socialist community, the ideological purity of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching, the unity and strength of the international communist and worker's movement, the international solidarity and backing to the peoples fighting for freedom and social progress, the struggle of the progressive mankind for peace and security in the world."

It was noted in conclusion that Mr Todor Zhivkov embodies in himself the best qualities and virtues of the working class, of the BCP and the Bulgarian people.

The solemn rally on the inauguration of Mr Todor Zhivkov's bust in his native village of Pravets was attended by party and state figures, public workers and workers of all generations.

The 70th anniversary of the Bulgarian leader is being marked all over the country with meetings, exhibitions and rallies. Everywhere stress is being laid on Mr Todor Zhivkov's enormous services in the struggle of the Bulgarian people against monarcho-fascism, in the building of socialism in the country. It is emphasized that he is a true continuator of the cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov. Stress is also laid on his merits for the flourishing of the life-giving Bulgaro-Soviet friendship.

Dailies Observe Birthday

AU051705 [Editorial Report] Bulgarian dailies on 2 and 3 September devote large space to Todor Zhivkov's 70th birthday and to his achievements in party and state development.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 3 September 1981 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word report from Hanoi on the publication of Todor Zhivkov's collected speeches and articles in Vietnam, in the Vietnamese language.

The same daily carries on page 1 a 300-word report from Moscow on a scientific-theoretical conference held in Usogorsk (USSR), one of the settlements of Bulgarian timber workers engaged in large timber processing projects in the Komi ASSR. The conference was devoted to Todor Zhivkov's birthday and particularly to his contribution to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.

The same daily carries on pages 1 and 6 a 700-word report on Zhivkov birthday celebrations throughout Bulgaria, on lectures delivered on his life and work by local leaders, scientists and cultural workers and on photographic as well as documentary exhibitions on Zhivkov's life and activities.

The same daily also carries on page 3 a 3,000-word article by academician Angel Balevski, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, entitled: "Dynamic Development of Bulgarian Sciences." The article is devoted to the April party line and its beneficial effect upon scientific development in Bulgaria, as well as to Zhivkov's role as the chief exponent of this party line in the promotion of sciences. Balevski particularly emphasizes Zhivkov's influence in "combining the achievements of scientific-techrical revolution with the advantages of socialism" and stresses his particular interest in the "necessity of promptly and efficiently applying the achievements of scientific-technical progress to practical needs," as well as in encouraging and promoting young talents in the scientific sector.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 2 September carries on page 3 a 2,800-word article by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship All-National Committee, analyzing Zhivkov's contribution to Soviet-Bulgarian friendship entitled: "Loyalty for Loyalty, Friendship for Friendship." The author stresses Zhivkov's role in various initiatives and projects of Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation, such as the famous "general scheme for specialization and production sharing in the sphere of material production between the USSR and Bulgaria for the period up to 1990." He adds that Zhivkov's "contribution to considering the friendship between Bulgaria and the USSR as the granite-like foundation of the BCP's effective foreign political strategy is unique."

NARODNA ARMIYA on 2 September carries on page 2 a 3,000-word article by Adm Ivan Dobrev, entitled: "Idealism and Selfless Devotion" in which he dwells on Zhivkov's contribution to the development of the Bulgarian Navy, on his interest in the sailors' life and education. Zhivkov pays frequent visits to navy detachments and ships, Admiral Dobrev states. He has accompanied leaders of fraternal parties and countries on such visits, and he is also a frequent visitor to the Soviet Navy and is a personal friend of Soviet Adm Sergey Gorshkov, Dobrev adds. The article closes by praising Zhivkov as "endowed with a true sailor's spirit, broadmindedness, courage in facing the storms of life and with an unmistakable sailor's instinct for the correct navigation of the people and party, heading for the sacred shores of socialism and communism."

The daily NARODNA MLADEZH on 3 September carries on pages 1 and 2 a 3,000-word review by Georgi Tanev, director of the National Museum of the Revolutionary Movement, entitled "An Exceptionally Valuable and Long-Awaited Work" dealing with Zhivkov's extensive biography recently published by Partizdat. The article is full of praise for the book and for Zhivkov's personal achievements in various periods of his life, in foreign policy and in promoting Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, as well as in domestic policy, especially in "overcoming the harmful consequences of the personality cult and in rallying all cadres to implement and develop the correct general line of our glorious party."

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME on 3 September carries on page 3 a 3,000-word article by Kostadin Baychinski, deputy director of the Institute of History attached to the BCP Central Committee, entitled "Worthy Follower of the Blagoev-Dimitrov Cause" also reviewing the official Zhivkov biography with emphasis on Zhivkov's contribution to the struggle against "dogmatism and sectarianism within the party" and against the "revisionist attempts to reject the general party line and to underrate the party's leading role."

The daily TRUD on 3 September carries on page 1 a 1,000-word report by USSR correspondent Khristo Asurdzhiev about a Soviet teachers' family living in Odessa, which is presenting Zhivkov on his 70th birthday with the family's most valuable possession--an autograph of the famous Bulgarian poet Khristo Botev. The autograph was given by Botev to one of the Ramenski family ancestors, who was his personal friend.

POLISH SOLIDARITY, CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS SCORED

Opposing Socialism

AU082058 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Sep 81 p 6

[Pavol Minarik article: "In Opposition to Socialism; How Far Did 'Solidarity' Get?"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] TODAY, WHEN THE FIRST PART OF THE "SOLIDARITY" CONGRESS BEGINS IN GDANSK, THE TIME HAS COME TO POSE A FEW QUESTIONS CONCERNING THIS ORGANIZATION. WHAT DOES IT, IN FACT, SIGNIFY ON POLAND'S POLITICAL SCENE AND WHAT WERE ITS PLANS AND GOALS AND ESPECIALLY ITS DECLARATIONS AT THE TIME OF ITS EMERGENCE AND WHAT HAS BECOME OF ALL THAT?

A simple, formal answer to the first part of the question would be: This "independent trade union" came into being at the time of the acute social and political crisis in Poland in the summer of 1980, and on 10 November 1980, the Supreme Court of the Polish People's Republic registered it as a constitutional organization. In its statutes, "Solidarity" committed itself to recognize the PZPR's leading role, to respect People's Poland's international ties of alliance and the unshakability of the principles of the socialist system and to constructively join the process of renewal. The leaders of "Solidarity" declared at the same time that this trade union will not assume the character of a political organization.

THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATED THEIR GOOD WILL AND THEIR ENDEAVOR TO BRING ABOUT A SOCIALIST RENEWAL OF THE COUNTRY AND ASSENTED, THEREFORE, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION. THIS HAPPENED DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE CONSTITUTION DID NOT OBLIGE THEM TO TAKE THIS STEP. However, certain circles, not only in Poland but also in the West, interpreted this good will as a weakness that must be taken full advantage of. "Solidarity" was and continues to be in their eyes a suitable means of pushing the organs of people's power to the wall and escalating the situation in the country to the point of explosion. From the very beginning, "Solidarity" has borne profound and sharp contradictions. The outcome of the struggle between them was to determine what kind of an organization it would become and what forces it would serve.

Open Attacks

Time has unambiguously shown that "Solidarity" has turned into an opposition force which openly attacks the PZPR and the Polish Government. Part of the "Solidarity" leadership proceeds from anticommunist positions. It calls for "putting an end to communists" and beginning to "set fire to party committees." Particularly active in this respect is Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the "Solidarity" Mazowsze organization, who spoke at the beginning of this week in the Hybrydy discussion club. THE ENTIRE DISCUSSION WAS LITERALLY CHARGED WITH AN ANTIPARTY THRUST AND ITS PARTICIPANTS, ESPECIALLY Z. BUJAK, DID NOT MAKE ANY SECRET OF THEIR ATTITUDE. For example, it was said there that, allegedly, "Polish society has for a long time sought to break the party's political monopoly." The Mazowsze leader added that "that which a few months ago seemed to be impossible is a reality today. If, for example, we were to sign the Gdansk agreement today, I am sure that the sentence about the party's leading role would not be there."

On Monday it was, in turn, Lech Walesa and other "Solidarity" leaders, who spoke on television. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THEY SAID THAT "SOLIDARITY" ACTIVITY, BASED ON CONTROLLING THE STATE LEADERSHIP, HAS NOT YET ACQUITTED ITSELF. THEY CLAIMED THAT THE LEADERSHIP DOES NOT WANT AND IS NOT ABLE TO INTRODUCE REFORMS.... "THEREFORE, 'SOLIDARITY' CAN NO LONGER WAIT BUT MUST TAKE THE FATE OF SOCIETY INTO ITS OWN HANDS." LECH WALESA USED SIMILAR WORDS IN SLOWO POWSZECHNE IN WHICH HE SAID, MOREOVER, THAT DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF "SOLIDARITY'S" EXISTENCE HE HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY APPREHENSIVE ABOUT ITS FUTURE. "IN MY OPINION," HE STRESSED, "THE GREATEST SUCCESS OF 'SOLIDARITY' IS THAT IT HAS SURVIVED THIS YEAR."

During its 1 year of existence, "Solidarity" has brought Poland to the brink of a catastrophe. It was necessary to introduce a rationing system for meat, butter, flour, cereals and other foodstuffs.

One does not have to be exceptionally bright to understand that nothing springs up from nothing, that--for example--antisocialist leaflets do not produce bread; empty talk does not generate coal; nor strikes, crude oil; nor demagogic slogans, apartments for the working people. One gets only the result of one's own work. In a socialist society, people's living standards are determined by the quantity and quality of social work. However, the leaders of "Solidarity," who are manipulating a large portion of Polish society, do not want to hear even a word about it. That also follows, after all, from "Solidarity's" draft statutes that will be submitted to the congress for approval. The document is designed to create the impression that "Solidarity" is "a free, independent and democratic organization," supposedly corresponding to the working people's interests and to which bureaucracy and excessive centralism are something alien. HOWEVER, AT THE SAME TIME IT STRIKES THE EYE THAT THE STATUTES ARE AT VARIANCE WITH THE CONCEPT OF TRADE UNION STRUCTURE IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. The authors of the document make it clear that in its relationship with the socialist state, "Solidarity" is an opposition force. In its draft statutes, it further proclaims its intention to deal with economic and social issues. Their range is very broad--socialist legislature, distribution of the national income, price setting, wage setting and so forth.

Only Demands

In reality, "Solidarity" is not interested in taking part in solving individual problems but--as is stated in the statutes--it will only express public opinion. In other words, when it comes to the solution of economic and social problems, it only wants to express demands, criticize the government and simultaneously play the role of some sort of arbiter. In short, it wants to criticize but not to organize; it wants to demand without bearing responsibility. Such an approach only plays into the hands of those forces that want to completely undermine the material base of socialism, aggravate the economic situation even more and thereby discredit the socialist system.

The authors of the document have opted for strikes as the main instrument of blackmail and pressure on party and state organs.

AS IS KNOWN, THE MISCELLANEOUS STRIKES--THE NUMBER OF WHICH HAS EXCEEDED 120 SINCE LAST AUGUST--HAVE DISRUPTED THE ECONOMY AND PUT THE COUNTRY IN A CRITICAL STATE. By pursuing such a policy, they are, above all, aggravating the material situation of the Polish working people and, at the same time, trying to restore capitalism in the country.

Interesting, to say the least, is another part of the statutes, which discusses "Solidarity's" assets and property and their distribution. "Donations and subsidies" are described as their main source. THIS MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR THE "SOLIDARITY" LEADERSHIP TO DRAW FOR ITS ACTIVITY, EVEN TODAY, ON THE FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL AID OF VARIOUS FOREIGN ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING EXPLICITLY ANTICOMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE AMERICAN AFL-CIO TRADE UNION FEDERATION. Incidentally, its chairman, Lane Kirkland, was invited to the "Solidarity" congress, by Lech Walesa personally. And there were good reasons for this invitation. After all, from the very inception of "Solidarity," the AFL-CIO has been its "loyal" advocate and has generously contributed financial aid and printing machines and equipment to its antistate and antisocialist activity. So far, the AFL-CIO has transferred $160,000 to "Solidarity's" account.

In conclusion, let us say a few words about "Solidarity's" organizational structure. Even though the statutes pay lip service to the extensive authority of local organizations, in reality a single center exercises rigid control over their acitivity. According to the statutes, the "National Consultative Commission" will decide in matters that go beyond the framework of "Solidarity" or about disputed issues.

THAT MEANS THAT THE SOLIDARITY [published without quotation marks] CONGRESS WILL NOT DECIDE. THIS SITUATION MAKES IT, IN FACT, POSSIBLE FOR THE "SOLIDARITY" LEADERS, WITH ANTICOMMUNIST ORIENTATION, TO CONTINUE TO CONCENTRATE UNLIMITED POWER IN THEIR HANDS AND THUS RULE WITHOUT ANY CONTROL. AND THESE ARE FACTS THAT INDICATE THAT THE LINE WHICH WILL BE PURSUED BY "SOLIDARITY" EVEN AFTER ITS CONGRESS WILL BE MORE THAN HOSTILE TOWARD SOCIALISM.

Makeup of Participants

LD072128 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Poland: The riot of about 150 prisoners in Bydgoszcz is in its third day; they have barricaded themselves in one section of the prison and declared a so-called occupational strike, just as Solidarity has done in several enterprises.

The Solidarity congress in Gdansk also continued today. According to REUTER the congress deliberations are characterized by a growing arrogance of Solidarity toward the party and state leadership and by the fact that the desire to play the decisive role in the current development of the country is being openly demonstrated. Our correspondent, Miroslav Zizka, reports:

[Begin recording] Walesa's trade union, whose congress was opened with great pomp on Saturday, has provided another telling testimony as to the political position it occupies. The point is that the deliberations of the congress are attended by the representatives of 30 Christian and other trade union organizations from the West, especially one of the most reactionary trade union centers, the AFL-CIO from the United States, which has been particularly generous to Solidarity. The most notorious yellow trade unions from the United States, no doubt, know very well who is a good investment while Solidarity also knows who is a reliable supporter.

If we accept that birds of a feather flock together, then at this congress not only can we not overlook trade union guests of this sort but also the presence of those delegates to whom Walesa's trade unions attach particular value. Noticeable in this company, above all, is the notorious counterrevolutionary, Kuron, from the illegal Social Self-Defense Committee, the notorious opportunist official of the Association of Polish Journalists, Bratkowski, and others. Representatives of Western anticommunist and anti-Soviet centers are also present.
Noteworthy in this context is the pope's message to the congress of the so-called Solidarity. This moral support from the highest Catholic authority is, undoubtedly, not a religious act, as one would expect, but an openly political one. Such a message to an antisocialist and counterrevolutionary organization is, of course, a blessing which deserves the same epithets as Walesa's pseudo-trade unions themselves. [end recording]

'Antisocialist' Proceedings

LD081922 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Another day at the congress of the so-called Solidarity is now described in a dispatch from our correspondent, Frantisek Sojka, in Gdansk:

[Begin recording] The plenary session and the work of the commissions continue, but only the biggest optimists believe that the first part of the congress, initially planned for 3 days, will actually end at 1700 tomorrow. The main themes are criticism of the government and the PZPR, accusations against the Council of Ministers which is blamed for incompetence, attempts to create a conflict and to bring the leading role of the PZPR in society into disrepute.

Another characteristic feature of the congress is its rabid anti-Sovietism expressed above all in the distributed publications which also include crude attacks against Czechoslovakia.

All this is neither fortuitous nor can it be described as a series of isolated excesses since, as has been officially stated at a press conference, many of the delegates belong to the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland, an openly antisocialist and anti-Soviet organization, and to many other illegal political parties. If we add the fact that the leaders of the equally antisocialist Social Self-Defense Committee are active as makers of Solidarity's policy, then it is obvious that here, at Solidarity's first congress in Gdansk, one should not be surprised by anything, whether it is what is being said here or the publications distributed.

Today, great attention was paid to the question of the so-called self-management; Solidarity would like to use this concept as a tool for the destruction of the existing economic and political structures in the country. Among the items discussed was applying pressure on the Polish Sejm not to approve the bill on the organization of state enterprises since, allegedly, it will loose the trust of society.

In a word, this is a parade of antiparty and antisocialist invectives. [end recording]

'Counterrevolution Grows'

AU082037 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent Jan Lipavsky: "The Danger of Counterrevolution Grows; Poland One Year Later"]

[Excerpts] Profound embarrassment. With this phrase one can laconically describe many Polish commentaries on the results of the year that has elapsed since the signing of the Gdansk, Szczeczyn and Jastrzebie agreements, in which the Polish Government agreed both to legalize a trade union organization which had arrogated to itself the name Solidarity, and to considerable, unrealistic economic and social demands which in their consequences (together with strikes) put the country on the verge of economic catastrophe.

The causes of this state of affairs have their own logic. At the PZPR Central Committee Sixth Plenum last year, with which is connected the first wave of cadre changes in the leadership of the party and later in the government, a political line called "social agreement" has come into being. Its task was and is--as Polish documents stress--to resolve social conflicts through political means, through negotiations and to integrate all forces of "prudence and understanding."

It is no secret that two lines have clashed in the party itself: the opportunist with the Marxist-Leninist. And that, to a considerable degree, has weakened the party's activity within society for many months. It has weakened the possibility of its unitedly and purposefully influencing the course of events in the country. While the party, in the throes of internal disputes, was overly concerned with its own affairs, enemies were steering the developments under various demagogical slogans into an ever deeper disruption, blaming socialism for the crisis.

The rightwing forces within and outside the party, in a concordant unity with antisocialist elements, were deepening ideological and political chaos in the minds of millions, chaos caused already before September 1980 by the inconsistent, megalomaniacal policy of the former party and state leadership.

The developments of the past 12 months have shown that the so-called line of understanding among various political forces in the country, whose representatives were at the birth of the aforementioned agreements, has in fact become only a pretext for permanent social conflicts resulting in an ever more intensive political confrontation between the "Solidarity" leadership and the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The daily GLOS PRACY wrote recently: "For 12 months now words such as social agreement and understanding have been circulating, and it has often been emphasized that a Pole always comes to an agreement with another Pole, but at the same time we hear almost daily words such as strike, protest, conflict, march, warning, blockade."

Such is the Polish reality. The cooperation of the government with the leadership of "Solidarity" in the efforts to lead the country out of the crisis fails not through the fault of the government, but through the fault of the leaders of that organization who have never respected what they pledged a year ago: that they will safeguard and observe constitutional laws, recognize the party's leading role, that they will in no case and in no way disrupt the bonds of alliance of the Polish People's Republic, and that they will "undertake real [realne] steps with the aim to lead Poland out of the crisis situation."

If we consider that the events on the Baltic coast a year ago, according to the testimony of the officials of the KOR antistate organization, were their "work" (a claim more than once stated in the Western press); if we consider that behind the signatories of the agreements on behalf of the interenterprise strike committees were the KOR people (and they had and still have contacts with the reactionary emigration and with anticommunist centers in the West), one cannot but admit that the Gdansk, Szczeczyn and Jastrzebie agreements were drawn up not in the interest of the working class and all Polish working people, but in the interest of the enemies of People's Poland.

After the ninth congress, which drew attention to the existence of dual rule in the country, Poland is undergoing a new, unprecedented wave of tremors: street demonstrations, strikes, occupations of production facilities, the threat that the results of the work of production collectives will be distributed by "Solidarity" and so forth.

At present everything attests to the fact that preparations for taking over power are culminating in the leadership of "Solidarity." Already on 13 September 1980, in an interview with the West German weekly STERN, when asked to say something about his plan to overcome the crisis in Poland, "Solidarity" leader L. Walesa said that he will do so "when he is in the government."

It is a public secret that groups of "Solidarity" advisers have for months been elaborating tactics "to separate the government from decisionmaking," as B. Lis, another "Solidarity" leader, said at the Jastrzebie mine.

Involved here are pressure actions designed to block the activity of the government and sabotage its decisions. In a certain situation, prepared by "Solidarity's" leadership in advance (general strike), the activity of the government is to be completely paralyzed. At the same time, however, a majority of deputies to the representative bodies is to be manipulated in such a way as to make these bodies acknowledge that the "government fell" and open the path for a new, "renewed" government, consisting exclusively of "Solidarity" proponents. Naive? Silly? Unrealistic?

The uncontrolled political adventurism which manifested itself so markedly at the July session of "Solidarity's" National Consultative Commission in Gdansk remains a fact. The leaders of the regional groups of this organization proceed primarily from the assumption that the "party is on the skids." ["strana je rozmydlena"] and that the "previous system of administering power has ceased to exist." From this they conclude that they "broke" the monopoly of people's power.

In the worlds of the weekly RZECZYWISTOSC, power lies on the street and the only thing needed is to determine when the antisocialist forces will grab it and under what heading.

Thus there is not the slightest doubt that counterrevolution in Poland is rearing its head high.

However, the forces that demand putting an end to adventurism in "Solidarity's" activity are growing increasingly louder throughout Poland. The line separating the ordinary members of the organization from their leaders is increasingly visible. In many cases, only the fear of harassment does not as yet permit them to say "no" to those who are dragging this organization into dangerous waters.

Nevertheless, an increasing number of people, institutions and organizations of the National Front are publicly pressing for an end to the nonsensical "protest actions" fanned by the leaders of "Solidarity."

DRA DELEGATION DEPARTS FOLLOWING COOPERATION TALKS

LD071800 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 7 Sep (CETEKA)--A delegation of the Afghan National Patriotic Front, led by Presidium member and Executive Committee Secretary Mohammad Nasin Joia, left Czechoslovakia here Monday.

The delegation, invited by the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, discussed here issues of bilateral cooperation.

RUDE PRAVO CRITICIZES ABUSE OF CPCZ MEMBERSHIP

AU081307 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial: "The Word of the Party Is Valid"]

[Excerpts] We can state, without falsifying or distorting anything, that communists are living up to the demands placed on them. They do not exclude themselves from the ranks of the working people but are in their midst in working for the homeland's prosperity. Many, a great many of them, set the pace and serve as examples in the struggle for that which is new and beneficial for the republic.

We repeat: Many, a great many, party members and candidate members work and live in a truly communist manner. Deplorably, we cannot say all. That would be a lie. There are still people among us who regard the party membership card as an admission ticket to well-arranged comfort. The party organizations know them; the collective of communists has made many attempts to call them to party order, to save them from their own irresponsibility. The time has evidently come when, in cases where neither a word of encouragement nor a sharply critical and frank word has helped, it is necessary to tell the person concerned: You are not worthy to be called a communist. The term party member enjoys great respect in the eyes of our working people because it expresses one's belonging to the leading force in society, to the Communist Party, whose ideas the man of labor has adopted as his own and whose policy he endorses, supports and implements, to a party which is the embodiment of honor, wisdom, of the highest values of this country. No one is, will be or must be entitled to belittle even for a moment the value of the communist name in our people's eyes.

However, this does not concern only passive and complacent people who do not even lift a finger to contribute to our common cause. Our readers, both party members and people who are not members of the party, also write us about party members who are very active in their work, enjoy the well-deserved trust of the party and work collectives and hold, therefore, the corresponding positions and offices, but who believe that the party statutes and the principles which a communist must follow in his life are valid only for the so-called rank-and-file party members but not for them, employees of high standing, great responsibility, great tasks and extensive authority. Those people are usually at loggerheads with party discipline and with the resolutions of party bodies.

For example, it is very well known how urgently the party Central Committee speaks out against squandering material and financial means. On the Central Committee's initiative, RUDE PRAVO has introduced the rubric "We Cannot Afford To Waste," in which it criticizes all manifestations of wasteful management. However, in soliciting responses to justified criticism, we quite frequently visit directors' offices that are furnished with expensive, exotic woods, in whose luxurious surroundings a normal person feels uncomfortable. It goes without saying that one does not gladly leave such offices to visit noisy workshops. But that is not the only thing that matters. In the same building, sometimes even vis-a-vis such a posh office, across a narrow hall, there is an accounting department equipped with antediluvian calculators. Would it not be more beneficial to earmark the money spent on furnishing the director's office for purchasing new, up-to-date, productive technology for the accounting department? The correct answer to such a question is simple: Yes. But why was it not given by the person who should have and had to give it, in keeping with resolutions of the party Central Committee? By the director, a communist....

The party Central Committee, communists and all our working people fully appreciate the work of the ranking, managerial personnel. We know how much burden there is on their shoulders, how little time they have left for their private lives, for their families. We understand how enormous their responsibility is for entire collectives of people. Sometimes even the financial remuneration does not reflect what they deserve credit for. Nevertheless, it is impossible to permit them even for a moment, in a single case, to violate the party's work. The party's work--congress resolutions and Central Committee resolutions--is valid fully and in its entire scope for everyone from a party candidate member to a longtime communist.

There are excellent, rare people among us, communists. The republic would be much worse off if these people did not give the republic's development everything they have. However, in our midst there are also people for whom owning a summer house themselves and another summer house for a son or a daughter means more than the whole republic. The first group of people add to the party's good reputation, they are communists. The second group is obsessed by a petit bourgeois accumulation of property and is not needed. They do not belong to us because for them the party membership card is only a pass to a profitable career.

At the 16th party congress, Comrade Husak described who can be honored by being called a communist and what the prerequisites are. We shall adhere to his words, to the party's words and no one will ever mislead us from our path. The word of the party was and is correct and is valid for all of us.

PARTY SECRETARIES CONFER ON MEMBERSHIP GOALS

AU041724 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] An all-state conference of secretaries for political organizational work of the party's regional and city committees in Prague and Bratislava, chaired by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, was held this Wednesday in Prague.

The conference dealt with the working out and ensuring of the realization of the resolutions of the Third CPCZ Central Committee Plenum on the development of the party's membership base and on the improvement of its quality by the communist party's regional and district committees. The conference further discussed the course for comprehensively resolving these resolutions, particularly by party organizations, while enhancing the effectiveness of party work in consistently implementing the 16th CPCZ Congress conclusions in the society.

ERICH HONECKER LEAVES FOR MEXICO ON STATE VISIT

LD090843 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0649 GMT 9 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin 9 Sep (ADN)--This morning, chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker left for a state visit to the United Mexican States. He was invited by President of Mexico Jose Lopez Portillo.

Erich Honecker is accompanied on his visit, which will last from 9 to 13 September, by Dr Guenter Mittag, GDR State Council member, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign affairs minister; Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR Council of Ministers member, state secretary and first deputy foreign trade minister; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and head of the Chancery Staff of the State Council; as well as other dignitaries.

The chairman of the GDR State Council and the members of his official entourage were cordially seen off at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Politburo members of the SED Central Committee; chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph; Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann and Erich Mielke; Deputy Chairman of the State Council Prof Heinrich Hofmann; and Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Manfred Flegel, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Dr Gerhard Weiss and Dr Herbert Weiz.

Also present to say goodbye to Erich Honecker and his entourage were GDR State Council members Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, Ilse Thiele, Prof Dr Johanna Toepfer, Rosel Walther; State Council Secretary Heinz Eichler; and State Secretary and First Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Herbert Krolikowski. Mexican Charge d'Affaires Anacelia Perez de Meyer was there, too.

WERNER KROLIKOWSKI PLEDGES SUPPORT FOR ANGOLA

LD041844 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 4 Sep (ADN)--The GDR will continue to support Angola in building up the socialist social order and in the fight against acts of aggression by the South African apartheid regime. This assurance was given on Friday by Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Politburo, in a talk with Fernando Faustino Muteka, Angolan minister of transport and communications.

During the talk the dynamic development of the political and economic relations between both countries was praised. The chairmen of the joint economic committee of the GDR and Angola, Wolfgang Rauchfuss and Fernando Faustino Muteka, signed documents on the deepening of economic cooperation.

SENDING TROOPS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DEFENDED

LD051100 Hamburg DPA in German 0825 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 5 Sep (DPA)--The paper MILITAERWESEN published by the GDR Defense Ministry has defended sending troops by socialist states to several developing countries. This form of military cooperation is "in full agreement with international law" and corresponds "to the internationalist character of the socialist armed forces." In the military protection of socialist construction, "progressive states"--no names were mentioned--can rely on military help from socialist countries, the paper writes.

Part of this support is the supply of arms and military technology, the training of military cadres, help in building armament factories, the granting of licenses to produce weapons and the combat training of troops. This also includes the "temporary presence of troop contingents by individual socialist states in a number of nationally liberated states," the article states. It is the task of these units "to help ward off and thwart imperialist acts of aggression."

HERRMANN RECEIVES SMIRNOV-LED CPSU DELEGATION

LD051658 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] A CPSU delegation led by Georgi L. Smirnov, first deputy chief of the Propaganda Department, was received today at the end of its visit to the GDR by Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee. Joachim Herrmann said that the SED is working consistently in the knowledge that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are spreading throughout the world by their creative, peaceful implementation. During its GDR visit, the Soviet delegation held numerous meetings with representatives of the press and television.

DETAILS OF CHEMICAL CONTRACTS WITH USSR

LD061628 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1435 GMT 6 Sep 81

[Excerpt] Leipzig, 6 Sep (ADN)--An important contract on the supply of raw materials for the GDR chemical industry and agriculture in 1982 was signed today by the Chemie export-import foreign trade enterprise and the Soviet foreign trade association Soyuzpromeksport at the Leipzig Fall Fair (6-12 September), which opened today. The contract is worth 60 million roubles.

Gerhard Nitzsche, director general of Chemie export-import, and V.G. Molodtsov, director general of Soyuzkhimeksport announced that at the fair they will conclude agreements for 1982 on the import and export of chemical raw materials and finished goods having a total value of over 200 million roubles.

These agreements provide for important reciprocal supplies within the framework of the 1981-85 long-term trade agreement and specialization and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the chemical industry sector. On the basis of these agreements the GDR exports basic materials and semifinished products for the chemical industry.

PARTY, STATE DELEGATION VISITS LEIPZIG FAIR

LD062144 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1358 GMT 6 Sep 81

[Text] Leipzig, 6 Sep (ADN)--In the Soviet pavilion [at the Leipzig Fair] Erich Honecker, State Council chairman and general secretary of the SED, and other members of the GDR party and state leadership were cordially welcomed by Ivan Bodyuli, deputy premier and leader of the USSR party and Government delegation of the Leipzig Fair; S.W. Tatliyev, first deputy premier of the Azerbaijan SSR; S.Sh. Aknazarov, premier of the Bashkir ASSR; and Boris Kokorev, director of the Soviet exhibition. Countless photos and posters in the foyer are devoted to the economic productivity of the Soviet Union--the most important trading partner of the GDR--and its further development in accord with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, and to the close fraternal cooperation between the GDR and the USSR.

During the tour through the pavilion, in which approximately 700 industrial enterprises with some 8,000 exhibits are represented, the guests visited the stands of the 21 foreign trade organizations present at the fair.

The special exhibitions of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Bashkir ASSR demonstrate the development of these once backward areas into industrial centers where, among other things, Soviet oil production and processing facilities are concentrated.

During their visit to the fair, which lasted several hours, the members of the party and state leadership were welcomed by diplomats and economic experts from socialist fraternal countries.

The partners in the talks with Erich Honecker, while visiting the Soviet exhibition pavilion and the stands of the other partners of the socialist economic integration, expressed the certainty that the increasing coordination of the national economic tasks in the eighties is a guarantee for the further strengthening of socialism.

The meetings of the GDR party and state leadership with representatives from the capitalist industrial states, diplomats and trade and economic experts, were marked by the conviction that peaceful coexistence in all fields is in the service of peace and for the good of the peoples.

FRG CITIZEN SENTENCED TO 15 YEARS FOR ESPIONAGE

LD081500 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1327 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)--The Berlin Higher Military Court today sentenced FRG citizen Udo Harms to 15 years imprisonment for longstanding espionage activity against the GDR in accordance with article 98 of the penal code. As an agent recruited and paid by an FRG intelligence service, Harms carried out many espionage missions since 1974. He supplied his superiors with military information which greatly endangered the security interests of the GDR. In preparation for these crimes Harms also supplied the FRG intelligence service with details of the GDR's border security system, handed over papers required for travel to the GDR for assessment and produced character studies of GDR citizens, in whom the FRG intelligence service showed particular interest.

Agent Harms was known in the intelligence service headquarters under the cover of "Leinert" and had more than 80 meetings for the purpose of briefings, receiving orders and reporting. At the trial it was again proved that the FRG intelligence services, within the framework of NATO's aggressive planning, organise and prepare long-term and systematic subversive crimes against the GDR.

ARMY DELEGATION ARRIVES IN ADEN FOR ANNIVERSARY

AU021631 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Sep 81 p 2

[Summary] Aden (ADN)--On 31 August a delegation of the GDR National People's Army [NVA], headed by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of defense and chief of the NVA Political Main Administration, arrived in Aden for the 10th anniversary of the armed forces of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. Captain (Hussein Ali Hassan), head of the political administration in the PDRY Ministry of Defense, received the delegation for a talk. Col Gen Kessler conveyed cordial congratulations from Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, GDR minister of national defense, and expressed the conviction that the visit will help to deepen relations between the two peoples and their armies. Captain (Hassan) briefed the guests on the efforts of the PDRY Army to increase its combat readiness and fighting strength, and paid tribute to the support of the socialist countries, in particular of the Soviet Union.

OFFICIALS PAY CONDOLENCES AT IRANIAN EMBASSY

AU081210 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On the occasion of the death of the president and the prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i and Mohammad Javad Bahonar, Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council; Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Klaus Willerding, deputy minister of foreign affairs, paid a visit of condolence to the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Berlin on Thursday. They expressed the sincere sympathy of the State Council, the Government and the people of the GDR to (Seyed Ebrahim Deraz-Guisou), charge d'affaires of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and signed the book of condolences.

CZINEGE DEPARTS FOR SOVIET MILITARY EXERCISES

LD070812 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Army Gen Lajos Czinege, minister of defense, has left for the USSR at the head of a delegation. The military delegation will have a look at the military maneuvers of the Soviet armed forces. Lajos Czinege was invited by Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov, Soviet minister of defense.

SOVIET MILITARY MANEUVERS REPORTED ON TV

LD052035 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] In the western part of the Soviet Union in the Belorussian and Baltic Military Districts, the military exercises codenamed "West-81" are continuing, directed by Marshal Ustinov, Soviet minister of defense. The command staffs and units taking part in the exercises, totaling of about 100,000 men, have occupied the designated operational areas and positions. The aim of the exercises which will last until 12 September is to perfect cooperation between units of the various military forces under conditions approximating real battle situations.

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS AND POLISH EVENTS COVERED

USSR Shows Increasing Concern

LD041120 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 4 Sep 81

[By Budapest Radio's Moscow correspondent Geza Foldvari]

[Text] In the past few days Soviet public opinion has understandably been more and more concerned with the situation in Poland. This applies above all to the activities of Solidarity which in the past year has pushed Poland to the brink of anarchy and bankruptcy. Soviet commentators note on the eve of Solidarity's congress that this organization's rightwing leaders and the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] grouping under their protective wings have intensified their attacks on the socialist state system, Poland's domestic and foreign policy, and the PZPR. Michnik, Rulewski and Bujak do not even attempt to conceal the fact that it was through their activities that anarchy and chaos have become established. They have succeeded in thwarting the carrying out of government measures designed to terminate the economic and political crisis. They are ignoring the laws and frustrating the government's economic program through strikes and sabotage, thus undermining the state and its socialist institutions.

Soviet public opinion considers it an extremely dangerous phenomenon that statements are made, such as that of Michnik, according to which the PZPR must be paralyzed and made weak and all the communists' bastions as well as everything that reminds one of Polish socialism must be eliminated. As pointed out in the USSR, it is alarming that Solidarity is endeavoring to take on the role of an opposition political party and that it is planning to enter the local organs of authority and the National Assembly. It is being pointed out in Moscow that Solidarity is unambiguously striving for power and its extremist leaders have an opportunity for organizing a grouping that may attempt to change the existing political system in Poland.

NEPSZABADSAG on Congress

LD061740 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 6 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 6 September (MTI)--In its weekly foreign affairs round-up NEPSZABADSAG discussed Poland in its Sunday issue. It points out: "The economic and political situation in Poland showed no signs of normalization this week either.

"The activity of the extremist elements of the Solidarity organization is consciously directed at aggravating social tension and--in utter disregard to the population's growing privation--at hindering production, shattering the national economy and disrputing socialist social system in Poland. Motivated by the above, they shun every constructive initiative. The National Consultative Commission of the Solidarity adopted resolutions on Wednesday which hinder political consolidation: these demand--disregarding the existing legal provisions--the payment of wages to those who took part in July and August. They have come forward with [words indistinct] that the Solidarity congress, which opened on Saturday, be reported only by those radio and television journalists who belong to that organization. They do not hide their intention to grab control of the Polish telecommunication system and if their demands are not met they have threatened to paralyse this system. Attacks against social property are being continued in villages and towns."

Thereafter the Budapest daily writes about the plenary session of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee this week. It quotes those speeches which held it possible to get out of the crisis within 2-3 years if coal mining output and agricultural production are raised. Finally, the daily recalls the words of Prime Minister Jaruzelski who said that people expect the Solidarity congress to answer whether it will adopt the line of constructive cooperation or confrontation. The future depends on the answer to the above question.

NEPSZABADSAG CRITICIZES U.S. ON ARMS CONTROL

LD090833 Budapest MTI in English 0620 GMT 9 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 9 Sep (MTI)--The Wednesday issue of NEPSZABADSAG carries a commentary entitled "Action Is Needed" dealing with the international situation. Here follows the full text of the writing:

"The atmosphere of world politics is virbating with tension. In order that from this tension humanity heads towards detente and not to war, it would be good if every politician, particularly the leaders of big powers, weigh their words and deeds affecting the global situation, a hundred times with great responsibility.

"A repeated example of such well-considered weighing was given by Soviet head of state Leonid Brezhnev during his toast address in honour of his Vietnamese guest Le Duan. The Soviet head of state warned that the creation of just and stable peace demands genuine action. In this spirit he called on (the world's) states to refrain from the creation of new weapon types and to launch talks in this direction.

"Unfortunately the way the other big power, the United States, approaches the issue is diametrically opposed to the above. Hardly a week has elapsed since President Reagan announced in Chicago: 'We tell them (that is, the Soviet Union) that something new is at stake. This stake is as follows: either we have a genuine, controllable armament cut, or they would land themselves in an arms race which they cannot win.'

"As far as stakes and facts are concerned, everybody remembers what happened to the SALT embodying (genuine and controllable) armament limitation. Everybody knows which state wrecked this treaty. It was the secretary of state of the same country who declared bluntly in an interview to the New York TIMES given a day after the above-quoted speech of the president, that he sees no possibility for a more comprehensive arms limitation talks, because the American administration is not prepared for that. In other words, President Reagan is urging talks only in words. As for the ultimatum-like tone of the statement, the entire history so far of Soviet-U.S. relations witnesses that one cannot talk with the Soviet Union in the language of threat.

"The world situation and the future of humanity does not require armament but peace elaborated through patient negotiations.

"Inseparably linked to the above is improvement in the relations between the two big powers, a thing that is not so easy following the American policy so far. Nevertheless, it is possible in the present situation. This, however, calls for concrete action and political steps.

"It is just this political measure that is involved in the suggestion outlined by Leonid Brezhnev at the toast address calling for abstention from the production of new weapons. This proposal reflects respect for the principle of equal security, and it hurts nobody's interests. It would serve to restore confidence and its realization will render our planet safer."

KADAR RECEIVES ARGENTINE CP LEADER FAVA

LD081100 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Janos Kadar received today Athos Fava, secretary general of the Communist Party of Argentina. At this meeting they informed each other on their parties' activities and exchanged views on the international situation and on questions of the international communist and workers' movement. They reviewed interparty relations and expressed their readiness to strengthen cooperation.

LEBANESE DELEGATION ARRIVES IN HUNGARY

LD081808 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 8 Sep (MTI)--Walid Jumblatt, president of the Central Political Council of the Lebanese Progressive National Movement and of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, arrived in Hungary on Tuesday at the head of a delegation invited by the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front National Council.

The delegation was received in Budapest by Istvan Sarlos, member of the Hungarian Socialist workers' Party Political Committee and general secretary of the patriotic People's Front NC. They conducted talks about issues concerning the two sides.

COL GEN CSEMI'S DELEGATION RETURNS FROM PDRY

LD052111 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 September (MTI)--The Hungarian military delegation led by Colonel-General Karoly Csemi, undersecretary of state at the defence ministry, returned to Budapest from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on Saturday. They attended the celebration staged on the 10th anniversary of the formation of the local army.

Colonel-General Karoly Csemi was received by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, secretary-general of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee, head of state and prime minister.

LEADERS SEND MESSAGE ON VIETNAMESE HOLIDAY

AU031752 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Sep 81 p 4

[Greetings message sent by MSZMP First Secretary Janos Kadar, Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi and Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgy Lazar to their SRV counterparts on the national day of Vietnam]

[Text] To Comrades Le Duan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party [VCP] Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV Council of State; and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, Hanoi:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the national holiday of the SRV, the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the independent and democratic Vietnamese state, we send you, the VCP Central Committee, the SRV's Council of State and Council of Ministers and the fraternal Vietnames people comradely greetings and good wishes on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, our working people and ourselves.

The Hungarian working people welcome with sincere recognition the results attained by the Vietnamese people--under the leadership of the VCP, their Marxist-Leninist vanguard--in the socialist transformation and development of the people's economy and in improving the people's welfare and living conditions.

We highly value the consistent struggle waged by the SRV against the forces of foreign aggression to defend the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial inviolability. We support the SRV's efforts toward strengthening peace and security in the Southeast Asian area and ensuring truly good-neighborly relations with the countries of the area. We condemn the provocations of imperialist and other reactionary forces against the SRV and other Indochinese countries.

We can conclude with satisfaction that multifaceted cooperation and fraternal friendship between our parties, countries and peoples are developing unabatedly, for the benefit of our peoples, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On the occasion of your national holiday, we wish you and the fraternal Vietnamese people continued successes in enhancing your socialist achievements and in your struggle for the good of socialism, progress and peace.

Budapest, 2 September 1981.

[Signed] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

MSZMP OFFICIAL ON IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

LD071810 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 7 Sep (MTI)--"The sharpening of the international political situation, the cold-warly atmosphere generated by the United States, the stepping up of bourgeois propaganda and ideological diversion make ideological work, consistent representation of the revolutionary ideals and the protection of their purity especially actual. We must attain that nowhere in Hungary may the false views, statements slandering our socialist achievements remain without rejection and he who loyally stands by the policy of the party and convincingly represents it be generally respected in our society", writes Mihaly Kornidesz, head of the HSWP CC department of science, public education and culture. The article was published in the September issue of PARTELET.

"It is a not negligible result of the consistent Marxist-Leninist policy of the HSWP that the majority of our people confess with conviction: socialism, the power of the workers class, the guiding role of the party and belonging to the community of the socialist countries are fundamental social and national interests. We shall preserve the political unity developed over these questions and strengthen it further with political and ideological work. Ideological work constitutes an integral part of the political activity. To underrate and neglect it, or separate it from the political tasks will weaken the influence of the Marxist-Leninist ideas and risk the national unity.

It is part of the realistic social picture in Hungary that although Marxism is the leading ideology it is not in monopolistic position. This versatility is not necessarily the sign of weakness, writes Mihaly Kornidesz. "In appropriate theoretical debates this ideological spectrum may considerably enrich Marxism-Leninism, help renew and further develop the political and ideological unity of action of our people. However, socialist national unity cannot be accomplished otherwise than through brave profession of the Marxist principles and through confrontation with the different non-Marxist trends."

The author goes on to point out: "This applies also to the alliance with the intelligentsia. Ideological debate here is especially instrumental. For the recent years a certain amount of political-ideological uncertainty and the powerful influence of various bourgeois ideologies can be observed with a narrow group of the intelligentsia. According to the author, these people exaggerate their own social role and emphasize their predestination for social leadership. Some subscribe to ultra-leftist ideas and demand accounts of the realization of an idealistic socialism imagined by themselves. Others, with pronounced manifestations of their opposition, complain that this policy restricts personal freedom. This ideological confusion in the minds of some people does not really present a political problem. The Hungarian society is ripe enough ideologically to be able to come out victorious from the battle with these views.

Mihaly Kornidesz writes that the system of social-scientific research has improved and adds: "However remarkable, the achievements still fall short of social necessity. The political management too has things to do in the field of practical employment of the viable theoretical knowledge. It is the fundamental interest of the party that the general picture and theoretical deduction of the social reality, the tendencies of movement should reflect most objectively our prevailing relations."

"In Hungary--in spite of our commonly known economic problems--the conditions of development of the cultural life are favourable. However, the contradictions of our social-economic life and the temporary tensions they produce are reflected also in culture and arts. Their interpretation in arts--if the creations realistically mirror the problems--does good service to the cause of the policy also and arts therefore may by no means be blamed."

The article in PARTELET continues like this:

"Still our existing problems do not excuse the ideological confusion reflected consciously or instinctively in the false picture drawn about society by one or the other artistic creation or writing. The HSWP invariably requests the creators to describe reality, to create for the people with due responsibility towards their task, and to take side with active man. We invariably respect the sovereignty of the creator in the respect of style, taste, creative methods and also his right to experiment. We want genuine, valuable creations representing the socialist ideal to enjoy even greater support and recognition than so far." Hostile views, however, will not be given room and on the disputable views in each case also the critical Marxist Kornidesz writes that "The management of the Hungarian cultural and ideological life is rather decentralized. The various cultural and scientific forums and institutions enjoy great independence. This independence, however, should be coupled with even greater responsibility from the part of the individual creative workshops. They may not just passively look on and leave ideological questions unanswered, let anti-Marxist, anti-socialist works and statements giving a false description of the social building work, gain ground. Without successful ideological work no significant social task can be solved today," declares the author.

FURTHER ON 8 SEP SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SESSION

Four Draft Resolutions

LD081226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] The plenary session of NSZZ Solidarity's first national congress of delegates has begun in Gdansk's Oliwia Hall. The delegates acquanited themselves with four draft resolutions: on the aims of the union, the situation in Bydgoszcz, Solidarity's access to the mass media and the situation of civilian employees in the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Before the plenary session began, inaugural sessions were held of 13 expert teams which will hold deliberations during the interval between the two rounds of Solidarity's congress.

AFP on Worker Referendum

NC081329 Paris AFP in English 1320 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Gdansk, 8 Sep (AFP)--The first congress of Poland's independent trade union Solidarity, now in its fourth day at this Baltic seaport, voted today that Parliament be asked to arrange a national referendum to determine the kind of worker control to be introduced in the state-run sector.

The resolution, not yet passed by the congress in its final form, also proposes that Solidarity should boycott legislation on worker participation if Parliament enacts it in its present form.

Solidarity and the formerly official Branch Trade Unions are also opposed to a government-sponsored parliamentary bill which they believe would create "many bureaucratic barriers, threatening in practice the very idea of self-management."

Solidarity has opted for increased union centralisation with delegates yesterday adopting a resolution giving the leadership, as in the past, both powers of decision and execution.

Those in favour of centralisation, including union chief Lech Walesa, argued that faced with current "threats," a centralized union leadership was the sole guarantee of cohesion.

Delegates also decided that the union president would be elected directly by congress, that new union structures would be set up as channels between factory branches and the regional MKZ [Interfactory Founding Committee] sections, and that a special union court would be created to solve internal problems.

The Commission of Statutes met today to examine amendments which might be put to delegates later this afternoon. The amendments would also have to be approved by a majority of local union militants and regional sections before final ratification.

Debate on Self-Management

LD082143 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[By Andrezj Jelenski]

[Text] [Announcer] On the fourth day of the first NSZZ Solidarity national congress, the highlights of the morning session were the passing of a number of decisions and the reading of other decisions. First the congress unanimously passed the resolution on workers' self-management.

[Begin Jelenski recording] The delegates to the first national congress of NSZZ Solidarity urge members of the union and all workers to defend the workers' self-management. Terrified by the prospect of the development and consolidation of self-management, the authorities try to nip it in the bud. This deprives workers of the right to manage enterprises, particularly of the right to appoint and recall managers. This is happening under the pretext of protecting social and state property, when in fact it is in the name of egotistic interests of the bureaucratic party-state apparatus. The recently undertaken defense of the so-called "nomenclature" constitutes an attempt to preserve the same system of personnel selection under which the managers of the economy, appointed according to political criteria, created the present catastrophe.

The official propaganda maintains that the government draft is being received with understanding by the majority of the community. In this situation, the congress--acting in conformity with point one, Article 8 of the Constitution which says that "the rights of the Polish People's Republic are an expression of the interest and will of the working people"--urges the Sejm to adopt a decision concerning the speediest holding of a national referendum on the terms of reference of the self-management.

The referendum should be held before the Sejm passes the bills on enterprises and on self-management. All trade unions must participate in wording the questions and carrying out the referendum. At the same time, the congress decides that the union will carry out the refendum among the workforce with its own means if state organs refuse to hold the referendum.

The delegates to the first congress express the hope that the deputies will respect the will of the workforces and will adopt a decision that will fully consider their aspirations. For this reason, the delegates urge the Sejm not to pass the bill in the version that the government is attempting to impose.

Passing a draft which would be contrary to the will of the workforce will bring about an exacerbation of tension, will make it more difficult to get out of the economic ruin and will cause a complete collapse of the community's confidence in the Sejm. Acting in this manner, the Sejm would miss the historical opportunity for carrying out democratic reform and the community would face the problem of embarking on independent actions. The delegates to the first NSZZ Solidarity congress state that the union will not stop fighting for an authentic self-management and will firmly defend its members from paying the costs of a reform that has not been accepted by the community. We will wage this struggle with all means available to us. We stress with all emphasis that should the bill on self-management be passed in a form that considerably departs from the will of the workforce, the union will be compelled to boycott the bill and will take actions that will ensure an unhampered functioning of authentic self-management. This is the finally agreed text. Would you please vote? [applause]

Next, the congress unanimously passed the resolution on higher education. [end recording]

Other Resolutions

LD081606 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Excerpts] The national congress of NSZZ Solidarity delegates has adopted a resolution concerning workers' self-government. Two other resolutions were also adopted: One demands that a statute be adopted on higher education in the shape of (?acceptance) by the academic world and another demands that civilian employees of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and employees of the state administration should be allowed to be active in the union.

Resolution on Union Aims

LD082314 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Several draft resolutions were read at today's NSZZ Solidarity congress session. Meriting attention above all is the draft resolution on the aims of the union. This draft was read and drawn up by delegates from Lower Silesia.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified delegate] The supreme aim of NSZZ Solidarity is to create worthy conditions for economic life in a politically sovereign Poland. What is meant is life free from poverty, exploitation, shortcomings and lies in a society which is organized democratically and in a self-governing manner. Today, the nation expects from us, first, an improvement in food supplies through the establishment of controls over its production, distribution and prices. Second, economic reform through the creation of workers' self-government and the elimination of the party's right to appointments. Third, truth through the social control of the mass media and by removing the falsities [ooklamanie] present in Polish schools. Fourth, democracy through defining the powers of and by the election of appropriate people to the People's Councils. Fifth, justice through the defense of people imprisoned for their convictions and who suffer repressions for printing and union activities. Sixth, aid for those who are sick or poor through an increase in benefits and supervision over the distribution of gifts and medicines. Seventh, coal, through guaranteeing to miners the appropriate working conditions and the necessary allocation of foodstuffs.

We shall achieve these aims in conditions of unity of our union and through the Solidarity of its members. Activities by various forces creating a feeling of external threat will not remove our will to struggle for the ideals of August 1980 and for the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. [applause] [end recording]

Resolution on Bydgoszcz Events

LD082206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[NSZZ Solidarity congress draft resolution relating to the Bydgoszcz events, read by unidentified delegate at the 8 September session--recorded]

[Text] For several months the public has been following attentaively the course of the preparatory criminal investigations to determine who was guilty for the Bydgoszcz events and to make them criminally responsible. The results of the investigations were meant to convince everyone about equality before the law and how no one can be above the law. The discontinuance of criminal proceedings against those persons guilty of the obvious violation of law and order strikes out against the fundamental quarantees of the concluded social agreements and against the feeling of security of every citizen. Such actions undermine confidence in the line of social agreements. In addition, the discontinuance of investigations into the Bydgoszcz matter testifies to the fact that the Prosecutor's Office in Poland is still not fulfilling its functions as a guardian of law and order or of a body which is statutorily appointed to supervise the observance of the law and to prosecute those guilty of violating it.

We recall that those persons in power who violated the law--including during the tragic events of 1956 and 1970 when workers fighting for dignity fell--have never been found guilty.

Despite the many repeatedly expressed votes of no-confidence in the Prosecutor's Office or in the prosecutor general, Lucjan Czubinski, himself, the work of the Prosecutor's Office, as shown by the Bydgoszcz matter, has not altered.

I shall now read a paragraph which will have two versions, and which (?I think) will be (?put to) the vote immediately:

The first version: Delegates of the first national NSZZ Solidarity congress fully share the stance of the board of the Bydgoszcz region of NSZZ Solidarity expressed in the statement and adopted resolution dated 3 September in connection with the discontinuance of the investigation into the so-called Bydgoszcz events.

The second version: The congress, as the supreme authority of the union, expresses a vote of no-confidence in the Prosecutor's Office and in the Prosecutor General Lucjan Czubinski in person. [applause]

The congress appeals to the Council of State to recall Lucjan Czubinski from his post [applause] and to undertake other measures restoring to the Prosecutor's Office its proper function. I am still reading this version. The congress gives expression to the conviction that the justified demands of the Bydgoszcz region will be fully implemented.

The next paragraph, again in different versions. The first version: The delegates of the first national NSZZ Solidarity congress consider that the Bydgoszcz matter, constituting an example of the violation of law and order, ought to be included in the activities of the union in order to ensure genuine equality before the law in Poland. The defense of these rights is a statutory duty of the union and we shall fight for them uncompromisingly.

The second version: The delegates of the first national NSZZ Solidarity congress take upon themselves the guarantee of including the Bydgoszcz matter and a number of other matters which bear the marks of the violation of law and order as one of the fundamental points of the program and strategy of the union in the defense of basic human rights. The defense of these rights is a statutory duty of the union. [applause]

Mass Media Access Discussed

LD082205 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] [Announcer] Winding up, a resolution was examined--even though it was not accepted--concerning the mass media situation.

[Begin unidentified voice recording] Our union is fighting for the full implementation of the third point of the Gdansk agreement. Access to the mass media is an indispensable way for the union authorities to reach agreement with the majority of members and therefore is indispensable for the functioning of the union. This fact justifies the use of the most effective forms of pressure in this matter. Solidarity members in the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs and (?relay) radio and television stations are ready to support the protest action with a protest action [as heard] in support of KKP [National Consultative Commission] efforts that are aimed at obtaining union access to the mass media.

Why did the government adopt resolution No 185/81? This resolution threatens heavy repressions against those in radio and television who participate in protest actions. This resolution contradicts the sections in the draft statute on trade unions that have already been agreed upon and violates the Warsaw agreement which obliges the sides to observe these agreed points. The delegates at the first NSZZ Solidarity national congress urge the government to examine the matter and to rescind resolution No 185/81. At the same time, the congress urges the government to conduct further talks on the implementation of the third point of the Gdansk agreement and to conduct them with concern for social calm which is so important in conditions of tension caused by the bankruptcy of the economic policy. [end recording]

Workers, Invalids Resolutions

LD082258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Report on proceedings at the 8 September session of the NSZZ Solidarity congress in Gdansk--unidentified delegates' recorded remarks contained within quotation marks]

[Text] A resolution on the issue of civilian workers at the Ministry of National Defense and at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of employees of the state administration belonging to Solidarity was accepted in the second reading.

"In connection with attempts to exclude civilian workers of the Ministry of National Defense and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of appointed [mianowany] workers in the administration from the possibility of joining the NSZZ Solidarity, the congress makes it incimbent on the union's national authorities to use any means available to the union to defend our members in order to ensure the right of free--in accordance with international conventions--activity by NSZZ Solidarity in both ministries and in the organs of the administration. The congress is of the opinion that the specific nature of the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs and of the organs of the administration is not a basis for restricting the right to activity by any trade union which exists in the (?country)."

The last document to be accepted today was the resolution on the setting up of an interregional invalids' fund.

"In connection with the UN resolution proclaiming 1981 to be the International Year of the Disabled, and faced with the lack of action by the authorities and many drastic shortcomings in bringing help to this social group, and wishing to come with assistance to invalids and sick people who so far have not had the possibility of availing themselves of modern rehabilitation and hospital equipment, delegates of the first national NSZZ Solidarity congress adopt the setting up of an interregional invalids' fund. The main task of the fund, made up of one-time founding contributions and from constant contributions by the regions will be to finance the production of the above-mentioned equipment and research and design work in this sphere. The national executive authorities of the congress will draw up and pass a statute and regulations governing the functioning of the fund, taking into account the guidelines governing the above resolution."

PAP Details Proceedings

LD090907 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Sep (PAP)--Today, on the fourth day of debates, delegates to the first national congress of Solidarity adopted several resolutions. Undoubtedly, a resolution on the worker self-management is the most important one as it defines Solidarity's chief area of operation, which can also become an area of serious confrontation.

In the resolution, the congress calls on the Sejm to order a national referendum on the self-management's powers as soon as possible. The congress also says that if the state bodies refuse to hold the referendum, Solidarity will hold it by its own means. Delegates to the first congress call on the Sejm not to adopt the drafts of laws forwarded by the government.

Delegates to the first congress say in their resolution that "the union will not stop fighting for genuine self-management and will also defend its members from bearing the costs of a reform not approved by society. It will conduct this struggle by all means at its disposal. We stress with full strength that if a law basically different from the will of the factory crews is adopted, the union will have to boycott the law and to take steps ensuring unrestricted operation of genuine self-management."

Ryszard Bugaj, of the Warsaw region, stressed that this does not mean that the union will adopt measures going beyond the binding legal system. The boycott of [word indistinct] deemed as an extreme measure, is to consist in boycotting the attempts to elect self-management bodies and, what is most important, in "refraining from taking part in a fictitious self-management."

Karol Modzelewski, of Lower Silesia, accused the authorities that "for a month they have been doing everything to confuse and divide society." In Modzelewski's opinion, the authorities "aim at creating conditions for imposing accomplished facts." Therefore, the union wants to block the government-sponsored draft laws and to use accomplished facts of its own. The constitutional procedure of a national referendum will be the best way to block the laws.

A draft of a message of the first national congress of Solidarity delegates to the nations, parliaments and governments of the world was presented to the delegates. They decided that it is necessary to rewrite parts of the text.

The congress also adopted a resolution on higher schools, obligating Solidarity authorities to take firm steps to ensure the adoption of such a law on higher schools which will be accepted by the academic milieu.

In another resolution, the congress obligated the union's authorities to use every measure to secure conditions of the activity of Solidarity links among civilian workers in the Ministries of the Interior and National Defense and in the state administration.

A resolution on mass media contains the postulate to submit them to public control and a call for cancelling a decision announcing sanctions against participants in protest actions in the radio and TV and in radio and TV stations.

A resolution on the Bydgoszcz incidents of March says that the discontinuance of investigation by the Prosecutor's Office aims against the fundamental principles of the social agreements and a sense of the citizens" security. The resolution backs a stand of the board of the Bydgoszcz Solidarity chapter and expresses the vote of no confidence towards the Prosecutor's Office and General Prosecutor Lucjan Czubinski. The resolution demands to [word indistinct] him from the post.

In replying to questions about Solidarity foreign policy, Janusz Onyszkiewicz stressed that nowadays one can hardly speak about any dominant trend in this area. He told journalists that invitations to trade union [word indistinct] socialist countries had been sent by Telex only on 2 September.

A preliminary discussion on the program was resumed at the congress in the afternoon and was continued at an evening session. A conception of Solidarity as an organization which is no longer a trade union but becomes a socio-political movement to an increasingly great extent emerges more clearly from the discussion.

During the discussion, delegates from regions said that the union cannot let itself deal exclusively with protecting the interests of workers, but that it must operate on other fronts at the same time. The first one consists in protecting the foundations of the Solidarity's existence, the struggle for self-governance and democracy. It is necessary for the union to define its attitude to various social milieus and organizations, especially the authorities and the church. The union should also assume an attitude open to all progressive civic actions.

One of the most important problems of democratization of public life is to earlier hold elections to the People's Councils and the Sejm (parliament), it was said.

It is all the more probable that the uncontrollable development of the crisis entails the risk of confrontation.

From this stems an important direction of the union's activity: to effectively interfere in the sphere of the economy, one of the regional delegates said.

The debate will be continued when the regions finish presenting their stands.

Message to Eastern Europe TUs

LD082050 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Sep (PAP)--At the end of its forenoon, the Solidarity congress today adopted the text of a message to the working people in Eastern Europe with compliments and words of support. Moreover, two resolutions were passed: one demanding adoption of a law on higher education in a form acceptable for the academic circles, and the other demanding Solidarity's access to civil workers of the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of the Interior, and civil servants.

AFP Carries Message Text

NC081536 Paris AFP in English 1533 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, 8 Sep (AFP)--Solidarity, the Polish independent trade union, today offered its support to all free union movements in Eastern Europe.

A message, approved here by the 900 delegates attending Solidarity's national congress and addressed to "workers of Eastern Europe," named Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Romania and "all the peoples of the Soviet Union."

The message expressed a hope for a meeting of all free unionists active in Eastern European countries "in order to deny the lies" spread against them by the mass media of those countries.

The message, adopted during the fourth day of the first national Solidarity congress here, said:

"As the first independent union organisation in our post-war history, we feel the common bond of our aspirations very deeply.

"Despite false reports distributed in your countries, we assure you that we are a genuine representation of workers, with a strength of 10 million members, born out of workers' strikes.

"Our goal is the struggle for improved living conditions for all workers.

"We support those amongst you who have decided to follow the difficult struggle for a free trades union movement.

"We have the firm hope that our representatives will be able to meet each other, in order to exchange their union experiences."

The message was signed, "The delegates at Solidarity's first congress."

Western observers in Warsaw said the message amounted to an attempt to export the movement which led to the appearance at the end of last year for the first time in communist Poland of an officially-recognised independent union.

They noted that other attempts in the East to create free unions outside the communist state structure have so far only been seen in the Soviet Union, where they wree on a limited scale and were firmly repressed.

Walesa Interview on TU Tasks

LD082158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Unidentified correspondent interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission, at the Solidarity congress in Gdansk on 8 September--recorded]

[Text] [Question] I would like to put to you the following question: What tasks must the congress carry out in order to satisfy social expectations?

[Answer] It is clear that we will certainly not meet all social expectations. We will try to adopt the position which emerges from the position adopted by the regions and by the work establishments. We are working. However, the democratic forms which we are learning are also prolonging our working times. Nevertheless, I think it is a very good thing that the congress is split. What we report here we will pass on to the work establishments and the regions. There we will be corrected and subsequently we will have more precise directions and targets. Only in the next round of the congress will these important matters be settled.

[Question] Which are the most urgent tasks currently facing Solidarity?

[Answer] One of the major objectives is to report as thoroughly as possible all that is happening in work establishments as regards our program. At the same time what the work establishments ordered us to do concerning our statute constitutes our main directions. Meanwhile we must note that the fate of the agreements signed does not lie here. They too must be reported on. At the same time we must decide what should be included as speedily as possible in the program concerning the agreements. Thus, part of it is resolved here.

[Question] Mr Chairman, once before when I asked you for an interview I asked what is and what should be Solidarity. Then you answered that it should be the voice of the working man. How is it today?

[Answer] The same. At the same time my dream is that in a few years time the main current should be a union one. But as I have said many times and will always say, we cannot get rid of anything; we must assist in the creation of other organizational forms which will replace us. For the time being things are not easy with these organizations. For the time being it is even difficult to separate the topics. But I think when we have resolved this self-management trend, which is a great burden for the union, later we will deal with other organizational forms and we will separate from self-management only the issues which are essential for the union. After all, these days everything is mixed and interwoven.

[Question] It is expected that the congress will end tomorrow. Can it be expected that certain trends will be worked out in the first round?

[Answer] Each of us has a trend. But things are not so good. If we stood in a circle, everyone facing a particular direction, we would probably remain in a circle. And that is why the issue consists of the task of defining the major trends, whether one likes it or not, and we will try. But during this congress we will not succeed in this; only during the second round will we specify the trends. This is still only a possibility.

9 SEP CONGRESS SESSION DISCUSSES STATUTORY MATTERS

LD091047 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 9 Sep 81

[Text] Today is the fifth day of the first national congress of Solidarity, which is being held in Gdansk.

Today's session will be devoted primarily to statutory matters. On the basis of the proposals prepared by the Statute Commission, delegates will decide about adopting amendments to this document. Changes in the union's statute are now being decided. Each of the changes requires an absolute majority of votes; a change becomes legally valid only when at least half of the regions encompassing over 50 percent of the union's members endorse it.

At the proposal of Tadeusz (Ziogro), a delegate from Rzeszow, the decision was made not to adopt a definite stance on the text of the annex to the statute. This proposal was adopted by a majority of votes. A representative of the Statute Commission told the delegates that the commission has received about 300 proposals for various amendments. As a result of a poll of the delegates, it has been decided to add only essential supplements to the statute. The union, it was stated, should not restrict its own activity by overly strict formulations of regulations.

PRESS UNION OFFERS TO AID SOLIDARITY-TV DISPUTE

NC082301 Paris AFP in English 2257 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Sep (AFP)--The Polish journalists' union today offered to mediate in the dispute between the independent trade union federation Solidarity and the official radio and television services over coverage of Solidarity's national congress now taking place in Gdansk.

Solidarity has refused to accredit an official TV crew to the congress until the government agrees to give Solidarity more access to the mass media.

In offering its good offices, the journalists' union said that in Poland's present tense situation, any disruption in the circulation of information was dangerous politically.

NATIONAL MEDIA REPORTS ON SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Attacks TU

LD081526 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Sep (PAP)--A journalist in the Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today launched an all-out attack on the latest televised pronouncements by Solidarity leaders, branding them as "a spectacle of arrogance." Jerzy Rulicz, the author of the article headlined "Full Cover," concluded from the precongress statements by the top Solidarity panel, made up of Andrzej Celinski, Marian Jurczyk, Lech Walesa, Bogdan Lis, Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, that "the Solidarity leadership have moved towards a new successive stage of confrontation, an open unpardonable struggle against the government. They have cooked up opinion on the government of General Jaruzelski to the effect that it has lost confidence of the society to the advantage of Solidarity. The circulated opinion has been bolstered up by promises that the union will handle the problems of the working people better than the government" said the daily adding that it was disquieting to see that opinion being acknowledged uncritically and without objection by the newsmen present at the precongress news conference of Solidarity leadership.

R. Rulicz went on saying that the Solidarity pronouncements could be a pre-electoral gamble to guarantee that they will retain their positions. That would signify that the extent of a candidate's radicalism counts most in the union's broad electoral circles. This is not a propitious sign for the future dialogue with the government; it is not a propitious line for the interests of our country. This may also be evidence of the importance pinned to holding the top positions.

The daily wrote further that the recent charges of demagogy against the union leaders were proven fully by the said news conference.

"It could be even said that demagogy has become a style for some of them." As one example of the demagogy ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI referred to Walesa's statement that he is in a position to present a programme for Poland to catch up with Japan in economic development.

"A leader of that format should realize he must not be flippant, because from now on the whole of Poland is looking forward to a programme to catch on Japan. I do not believe he can make his promise good. Any reasonable man knows that at the present time it is impossible even if Japan's economy grinds to a halt.

"The union's concept for self-management has been unveiled. It sets out to man managerial posts with the union's own people, to introduce another nomenclature (cadres policy)."

On the Solidarity refusal to accredit a Polish TV and radio team to the Solidarity congress, Mr Rulisz said he suspected the Solidarity leadership are not concerned to provide extensive coverage of the congress for the Polish public because it would reveal too many weak spots, too many organizational shortcomings and the warlike image of many candidates for the authorities. It would show the TV audience an unpardonable wrangle for the top places.

"The gentlemen from the Solidarity leadership, while attacking the government blindly, have passed in silence the fact that the government has been working on many problems of their concern. If it has not achieved the expected results, it is chiefly because its actions have not been duly supported. Can one expect that it will get such due support after the 1st Solidarity congress? Let us still hope. As they in public took pity of the people compelled to queue in the rain, the representatives of the large trade union's leadership did not mean to provide those people with umbrellas, or did they?," said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

Restricted Information Scored

LD081156 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 8 Sep (PAP)--In connection with the Solidarity trade union's demand that it have broader access to the mass media, and with the dispute about radio and television service for that trade union's congress, the Warsaw papers devote much attention to the problems of public information.

(Jan Ruranski) writes in ZYCIE WARSZAWY that many bad things are constantly taking place in public life because of the absence of rapid and complete information in the mass media. The observer notes: Unfortunately, this is also the handiwork of Solidarity, which has organized days with no press, threatened a strike and denied radio and television the right to be present at its congress. If we approach this problem without emotions, it must be said that a restriction on information in our so overexcited society may only inflict harm upon the trade unions, (?the government) and the party. On the contrary, manysided, objective and rapid information will always be a weapon in the hands of all those who act in the political arena honestly and without ulterior motive and who really want to implement a line of conciliation.

TRYBUNA LUDU Views Congress

LD090933 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 9 Sep 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Sep (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU special correspondent to the Solidarity congress in Gdansk regrets that still there has not been broader discussion on the union's program, which is a matter of paramount importance.

"However, a reasonable view took the upper hand that the delegates cannot return from the first round of the congress without achieving any results. The Commission for Motions and Resolutions was obligated to prepare something resembling programmatic theses," he wrote.

"Meanwhile, from the very beginning of the debates, the Commission for Motions and Resolutions has been advocating resolutions which could be deemed as protest notes of a special kind. One can say without any exaggeration that all attempts to find constructive solutions in the social, political and economic area made by the authorities are countered.

"Unfortunately, Tuesday's debates revealed that a method of negation, tested many a time by some Solidarity activists, is becoming a program. To stop, to overthrow and to boycott are the words which were often uttered in discussing a resolution on self-management.

"On the occasion of the discussion, the principles of the union's tactics are interesting. It is part of the scenario used for a long time by some leading Solidarity activists: By stopping initiatives of the authorities, we will prove that they are not able to do anything. We will create an area for our initiatives because after all somebody must govern."

Issue of CEMA Invitations

LD081114 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Sep (PAP)--Returning to the question of inviting the trade union centers of the socialist countries to the Solidarity trade union's first congress, TRYBUNA LUDU writes:

The paper GLDS WOLNY, a Solidarity bulletin, which is devoted to the work of the congress, writes in its second issue of 5 September that the PZPR Central Committee first secretary was poorly informed when he said at the recent Third Central Committee Plenum that not one trade union center from the socialist CEMA-member countries had been invited to the Gdansk congress. GLOS WOLNY categorically states that this is "completely false information."

According to Solidarity's representative for questions of the press, the actual situation is that the invitation was sent to the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions [WFTU]. But first, with its oversensitive reactions to questions of autonomy, Solidarity must know that every trade union center united in the WFTU makes its own decisions on its foreign contacts. Second, the direct invitations by Telex and telegraph were (?sent) to the above-mentioned trade union centers before the very beginning of the congress, after the speech by S. Kania.

Consequently, the "completely false information" is not quite so false. This is the actual state of affairs.

Media Plays Down Congress

NC091116 Paris AFP in English 1059 GMT 9 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Sep (AFP)--Censorship made its first appearance today since the Solidarity independent union federation began its congress five days ago, as not a single nationally-distributed newspaper published the federation's statement in support of free labor movements in Eastern Europe.

Informed sources said the information control office here ordered the newspapers not to mention the unprecedented Solidarity resolutions, voted by 900 delegates to the Gdansk congress.

The newspaper's correspondents had thoroughly covered earlier developments at the congress, the sources added.

Early reports from the news agency PAP and the Polish radio mentioned the Solidarity resolution, but said simply that it was a "message of support" for workers in Eastern Europe.

Even this sentence disappeared from later agency and radio reports on the congress, observers said.

Newspapers did, however, report a Solidarity resolution demanding that the Polish parliament call a national referendum on worker self-management, and threatening a boycott of the legislation if Parliament adopted it as it stands.

Press reaction to that resolution was generally moderate, although the state-controlled radio and television stations attacked it strongly, accusing Solidarity of trying to impose its views on the people's representatives in parliament.

Meanwhile, the congress delegates in Gdansk began full sessions on some 300 proposed amendments to Solidarity's statutes. Many of these were minor points to resolve before the federation resumes its discussion of a program that could, if adopted, define the group more as a social movement than a union.

One delicate issue concerning the ever-controversial recognition of the Communist Party's leadership role was avoided, as a motion to withdraw the recognition, made by Gdansk delegate Leszek Sobieszek and Bydgoszcz branch leader Jan Rulewski, was voted down.

Work appeared to be speeding up, but observers seemed certain that the congress would continue tomorrow in order to give union members a wider range of results. The convention was scheduled to break up on Monday, and resume at the end of this month.

FURTHER ON BYDGOSZCZ PRISON ESCAPE, DEVELOPMENTS

10 Escapees Recaptured

LD081632 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1430 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Crowd disturbances took place in Bydgoszcz yesterday in front of the detention center. As is well known, the convicts [word indistinct] decided to end their revolt at about 1830. They were then transported to other penal institutions. Meanwhile, an increasingly large crowd began to gather in the street. The crowd, consisting mainly of young people, shouted abuse at the militia. At the same time Bishop Jan Michalski, an emissary of the primate staying in Bydgoszcz, appealed to the crowd to disperse calmly. However, a group consisting of about 200 people remained near the detention center. This group became increasingly aggressive toward the militiamen surrounding the building. Stones were picked up from the street, branches torn from trees and eight militiamen were struck and injured. Windows of nearby houses were smashed. Five of these hooligans were detained, two of whom are minors.

The Bydgoszcz prosecutor's office is now dealing with matters concerning the escape of the prisoners on Saturday and events leading to their recapture. Let us add that today the militia apprehended 10 more of the escaped prisoners but nearly 100 are still free, including the most dangerous criminals.

Major, Adjudicator Comment

LD081737 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Good Day, ladies and gentlemen. Over the past few days the thing uppermost in our minds has been the events at the detention center in Bydgoszcz. Yesterday evening the matter reached a finale, the upshot of which does not, however, inspire us with optimism. Lech Dudniew reports:

On Saturday, during the revolt of those under temporary arrest and those facing charges who were in detention in Bydgoszcz a group of about 200 staged a successful escape attempt. How many has it been possible to recapture up to now? I put this question to Maj Jozef (Gotowic) from the voivodship Citizens' Militia headquarters in Bydgoszcz:

[Begin recording] [(Gotowic)] Eighty two persons have been recaptured. This number includes both those persons who turned up at the penal establishment on their own and also those persons who were detained by organs of the Citizens' Militia. I would like to stress here the great assistance given to organs of the Citizens' Militia by the general public in the town and voivodship of Bydgoszcz. This assistance takes the form, particularly, of people indicating places where the escapers have hidden.

[Dudiniew] Has it also been possible to catch the most dangerous criminals?

[(Gotowic)] Unfortunately, the most dangerous criminals, in other words those who are under arrest for murders and robberies and other dangerous crimes, are still outside the penal establishment. [end recording]

[Dudiniew] Yesterday evening a group of persons who had gathered in front of the detention center in Bydgoszcz in Waly Jagiellonskie Street began taunting functionaries of the Citizens' Militia. The law and order service had to intervene. The cases of several people were submitted to adjudicating panels. I have Tadeusz (Rosiak) on the telephone in front of the microphone of the radio program Echo. He is the deputy chairman of this adjudicating team attached to the Bydgoszcz town mayor:

[Rosiak] To all intents and purposes three applications for punishment have been submitted today. These concern young people. One case has been examined so far and at present the next two (?are being prepared) for examination. These young people used vulgar language against the functionaries maintaining order in the area of the penal establishment in Waly Jagiellonskie Street. In addition, they threw stones at the intervening Citizens' Militia functionaries and they used the people who gathered there as a screen to leave the area. Marek (name indistinct], born in 1961, has not been working since May this year. He has already been punished for hooliganism and fighting. A sentence of basic arrest for 3 months was passed [word indistinct] for this deed [words indistinct].

[Dudniew] After yesterday's events in the detention center in Bydgoszcz the board of the Bydgoszcz region of NSZZ Solidarity issued a communique in which it puts the blame on the ministerial commission of the Ministry of Justice for breaking off talks with those who are in jail and who are under arrest, and for striving to solve the conflict by force. At the same time the communique reports on the role which Solidaity members played during the conflict. We read in the communique that the board of the Solidarity region, fearing that the prison service will use force against the protesting prisoners and that as a result of this there will be incidents in the town, asked Primate Jozef Glemp for assistance. He authorized Bishop Jan Michalski to come to Bydgoszcz. In the meantime, thanks to the appeals of two representatives of Solidarity remaining in the occupied building, they managed to convince the protesting prisoners to leave [word indistinct] and to give themselves up to the law and order service in the grounds of the detention center. The bishop, after speaking with the management of the detention center, received a guarantee of security for the prisoners. This was an excerpt from the communique issued by the Bydgoszcz board of Solidarity.

STATEMENT ON PRIVATE FARMERS-GOVERNMENT TALKS

LD082338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2110 GMT 8 Sep 81

["Text" of statement issued on talks between the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy and the National Founding Commiteee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers; date not given]

[Text] On 17 August this year representatives of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy -- a statement published by the press spokesman of the National Founding Committee [OKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers says -- signed an important agreement concerning the agriculture development fund, prices for production services for farmers and a draft bill on so-called agricultural self-management.

Most of the signed decisions -- the statement says -- constituted a definition of the methods of implementation of the decisions of the Rzeszow agreement of 18 February this year, which have so far not been implemented by the government. In connection with the signed agreement we suspended the farmers' protest action proclaimed in support of our demands. The action was a refusal to pay the third tax installment. Unfortunately, soon after having signed the agreement of 17 August the official mass media -- in the opinion of the union -- became the scene of a campaign undermining the spirit and the letter of the agreements.

This campaign included statements by representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy attributing to the agreement a quite different content than that of the signed decisions, as well as statements by the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, supported by the authorities, which openly attacked the agreement.

These statements are being publicized by the mass media controlled by the authorities with a simultaneous blockade of our information and statements on this issue and many other issues. This is conducive to disinformation and disorientation of public opinion.

The attacks against the agreement of 17 August of this year carefully avoid a description of the essence of the signed agreements and their importance for farmers. That is why we feel it is our duty -- the statement of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers says -- to recall these decisions.

First, the resources of the agriculture development fund accumulated from taxes paid by farmers should be at the disposal of farmers who attend the rural general meeting. So far these resources have been managed by the organization of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations. Most private farmers have no influence on this whatsoever.

Second, the prices charged for production services by the agricultural circles cooperatives, which are subordinated to the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, should be frozen and the surplus payments illegally charged should be returned to farmers. This decision was supposed to bring an end to the arbitrary, illegal price increases in the agricultural circles cooperatives.

These increases, reaching 600 percent in some agricultural circles cooperatives served to cover -- from the peasants' money -- the losses which arose from bad management. It was established that the rise in the price of services must only be an element of a systematic price reform, with full compensation.

Third, the government pledged to present the accounts of the administration of the agriculture development fund for the last 3 years. The farmers have a right to know what the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and the regional bodies subject to it, have done with the peasants' money.

Fourth, the government announced the withdrawal from the Sejm of the draft bill on farmers' self-government.

It should be recalled that this draft, forced through contrary to our stance and the opinions of eminent union experts, aimed to give to the [word indistinct] of the circles and the organizations subordinated to the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations a monopoly in representing the peasants' interests--to create in the countryside a centralistic, sham self-government. After this, when the authorities were forced to recognize our union, and the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations proclaimed itself a trade union of . rmers, the authors of the draft strove to codify it and to include in it the (?planned facade) of that union.

The concept of farmers' self-government, which was launched, aims at the creation of artificial bodies and distracts attention from the need for the restoration of authentic self-government in the countryside on the basis of independent trade unions, a renewed cooperative system and democratic people's councils, and rural assemblies. The necessity for this direction in the renewal of self-government was stressed by us in the agreement of 17 August.

Thus--the statement says--the concluded agreement was unequivocally in keeping with the interests and feelings of the farmers. On the other hand, it could evoke a feeling of a threat to the interests of the apparatus subordinated to the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations. This fact cannot be changed by the campaign of disinformation conducted in the mass media.

In the final part of the statement, the press spokesman of the OKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers states that the deadline for the implementation of the agreement of 17 August elapses on 15 September. In the situation described herein, the Presidium of the OKZ, has decided to resume the [word indistinct] protest action, stating that the condition for calling it off is the full implementation of all four points of the agreement. The matter will be dealt with by the OKZ when it meets on 12 and 13 September.

Referring to the statement by the representative of the OKZ of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, the press spokesman of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy stated that on 17 August the undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy, Professor Zdzislaw Grochowski, met with representatives of the OKZ of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers in order to explain a number of problems connected with two draft decisions related to the implementation of the Rzeszow agreement which were sent to the Council of Ministers.

The meeting was a working one and Deputy Minister Grochowski represented the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy and not the government, as suggested by the OKZ press spokesman. As a result of the talks a protocol was signed. The ministry regards this as binding and is making attempts to implement the commitments that were made.

The Ministry of Agriculture press spokesman stressed his distress over the proclamation of a protest action by the OKZ of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers in a situation when the date for the implementation of the decisions adopted in the protocol had not expired and the draft bill on the management of the agriculture development fund had not been withdrawn. Matters related to the fate of the aforementioned bill have been explained in the press. Nevertheless we should like to mention that at the meeting of 24 August this year the Council of Ministers sent the draft to be legally specified regarding the forms of ownership of assets accrued from the agriculture development fund.

Regarding the second point in the protocol, we state that the ministry is endeavoring to bring about optimum solutions as to prices for services. All the same, we consider the best thing to be joint talks between the Main Board of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations and the OKZ of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers during which joint decisions can be adopted.

We would like to mention that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy has already come forward with an initiative for a joint meeting of representatives of both unions, inviting them to a conference related to the draft bill on the utilization of the agriculture development fund.

Only representatives of the Main Board of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organization attended.

The ministry will have at its disposal materials pertaining to the utilization of the agriculture development fund for the past 3 years and sees no difficulties in the implementation of point three of the protocol. As for the next problem, the withdrawal from the Sejm of the draft bill on agricultural self-management constituted one of the demands of the OKZ of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers. Because the author of this project is the Sejm Agriculture and Food Industry Commission and not the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy, binding decisions on these matters could not be made in the course of the talks.

In accordance with the stance of the Sejm commission, this draft, in its present version, is out of date and requires fundamental changes.

RURAL SOLIDARITY LEADER ANTOL INTERVIEWED

PM081040 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 27 Aug 81 pp 1, 3

[Zbigniew Satala interview with Jan Antol, member of the National Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers: "Why, Despite its Promise, Has the Trade Union Not Provided More Food for the Polish table?"]

[Text] [Question] Your trade union stated that once it was registered it would feed the nation. The registration took place quite a long time ago but Polish tables are emptier than before. At the same time, purchases of meat and even grain have diminished. How can this be explained?

[Answer] I have heard that Deputy Premier Rakowski made this accusation. I did not hear him speak but I must admit that the content of his speech astonished me. Anyone who knows the rural areas, even if only from observation, will admit that the mood of the country people has completely changed since the Rzeszow accord was signed. I live among peasants and can see what has happened. What was the mental state of peasants like before the accord was signed? They were resigned to their fate. They said that they would somehow manage for a few more years but later....

It is now sufficient to take an objective look at our fields to realize with what enthusiasm people must have begun spring work. How much land, previously badly cultivated, has been taken away from former agricultural cooperative farms? Let me remind you that in those farms subsidies amounting to Z100,000 per hectare had to be paid. Peasants have just brought that land under the plough. And the yield has been terrific!

[Question] Very good weather conditions have helped....

[Answer] But such yields would not have been achieved without enthusiasm. Allegations that the peasants have not done all they could as farmers, as people who feed the nation, is tantamount to blasphemy. I have recently travelled throughout Poland and had many talks with peasants. Crops are good everywhere; the soil has produced an abundant harvest. Cereals as well as root crops, vegetables and potatoes are magnificent. Even in the inundated regions the floodwaters receded rapidly and crops did not suffer. It is untrue to say that we will be faced with famine.

[Question] In that case, why is it that less agricultural produce is being sold?

[Answer] The situation should be dealt with wisely. If there are difficulties with grain purchases, the government should look into the matter. Whereas the price of grain on the market, among peasants, ranges from Z1,200 to Z1,500, the government wants to pay farmers Z900. It is necessary to react rapidly to the market situation. And this applies not only to the grain market. There is another problem. Is the state ready to take delivery of such an enormous amount of grain?

If not, it is necessary to organize purchases sensibly and come to an understanding with the farmer so that he may store grain at home. Obviously, he should be adequately paid for this. Since all this belongs to the sector of economic solutions, it is unfair to say that the peasants have failed to fulfill their obligations.

[Question] But the livestock raising situation is still unsatisfactory, isn't it?

[Answer] It is difficult to improve everything immediately. You cannot telescope the years needed to rebuild the livestock population. However, the hay crop has been magnificent this year. We inhabitants of the Tatra highlands cannot remember the grass ever being so good. This fodder will serve as a basis for increasing the number of livestock. But the authorities must wisely restore the community's confidence without which all efforts will be in vain. It is necessary to seek ways and means.

[Question] You blame the government for everything, but has the trade union itself shown any initiative with a view to helping farmers?

[Answer] The National [Founding] Committee and the government have issued an appeal with respect to work-free Saturdays. Efforts should be made to ensure that workers who are to work on work-free Saturdays will be able to buy something with the money they earn. For what is the good of having money if you cannot buy anything with it? And the same applies to the peasant--what is the good of his having money if he cannot buy asbestos tiles, cement, nails, chains, air ricks or lime. Tatra highlands Rural Solidarity has established contacts with some enterprises in Silesia as well as with some cement works. We have brought in some cement and asbestos tiles and we may bring in some more. It has been stated on the relevant invoices that these goods were produced on work-free Saturdays and have, therefore, not been included in the pooled stocks which voivodships receive and divide among their inhabitants. What we have in mind is taking along meat or some other farm produce for those people in exchange for the goods they produced on work-free Saturdays.

[Question] Isn't this tantamount to reducing the amount of agricultural products sold to government purchasing centers?

[Answer] Indeed not. We Tatra highlanders can supply mutton which is not sold to government purchasing centers. Farmers eat it. We want to deliver this mutton to industrial centers, thus answering the appeal issued by the National Founding Committee and the government. No damage will be done if farmers eat less of the meat, but any additional amount of cement will be most useful. Let some other people in the same way supply vegetables, fruit and other farm produce.

[Question] Who organizes this?

[Answer] This is the problem. The trade union alone cannot deal with everything. After we established contacts, we approached the rural commune cooperative because, after all, it is supposed to deal with supplies and sales. Unfortunately, so far only nominally, and yet it should be most grateful to us for our initiative. They should buy those sheep from us and bring in the cement.

[Question] Maybe the authorities will encourage the rural commune cooperatives to become more active?

[Answer] I spoke with Voivoda Raczka an hour ago (Zbigniew Sata' note: This interview took place on 24 August) and I am pleased to say that he took up the subject and will telephone in a few days' time to tell me how far he got with the chairman of the voivodship union of agricultural cooperatives. This opportunity must not be missed.

[Question] Does this mean that the success of the entire operation depends on the rural commune cooperative?

[Answer] Exactly. In the spring, our cooperative acts as storekeeper. A friend of mine took me to his storehouse. I was flabbergasted. I said: Andrzej, what is the matter with you--you have nothing for the farmers; the storehouse is empty--there is neither coal nor fertilizers. He told me that he wanted to seek out supplies but that he is not allowed to. He has a strict distribution list and an allocation and he has to manage as best as he can with what he has. Those rural commune cooperatives have been putting on airs. Their chairmen have been furnishing their offices whereas storehouses and depots have remained empty.

[Question] Such inertia on the part of cooperatives could make their members lost interest in them.

[Answer] This is happening already. The peasants have prepared--very democratically--lists of materials which we can obtain in exchange for mutton--no profiteer will receive any meat. Managers have signed these lists and written requests for supplies of mutton have been prepared. People have said that unless the rural commune cooperative brings the matter to a successful conclusion we will organize our own, new supply and sale cooperative. They asked me to raise the matter during my talks with the voivoda.

[Question] And what about democracy in rural areas? We have often heard that rural self-governing bodies have been taken over by cliques which distribute all goods among their members. Do they not genuinely represent the countryside?

[Answer] This is the most serious problem facing the trade union which has been tackled most unsatisfactorily in rural areas. What has been happening with respect to rural self-governing bodies, which are also called village head councils and which have been created as a result of a decree issued by the Council of State in March, has been an affront to the very meaning of democracy which is what the peasants desire. These self-governing bodies have been created undemocratically--people like heads of villages, councillors and members of specific organizations, instead of people trusted by the rural community, have virtually been appointed as members of those bodies. No secret ballot among the entire rural community has been organized. In our part of the country, some other organizations have sprung up spontaneously. We call them rural management.

[Question] And have they been active?

[Answer] We have been creating them despite the fact that some bogus village head councils were created previously. We want that group of people--rural management--to become an executive commission which would implement resolutions adopted at rural meetings to which it would be entirely repsonsible. Rural management is to implement resolutions adopted at rural meetings. Such meetings should play an increasingly important role. Previously, the aim of such meetings was to let people have their say whereas all decisions were to be made by a truncated self-governing body.

[Question] But, after all, self-governing bodies also operate.

[Answer] We want to prevent a false interpretation of the March decree and this is why we have been creating our own, authentic and independent self-governing organizations.

[Question] Have they been recognized by the authorities?

[Answer] The authorities have recognized them as a fact of life. The majority of the rural community does not recognize the former self-governing bodies. We have protested to the Sejm, through Deputy Rozanzki, against that decree and our protest is inconsistent with the peasants' main desire which is to ensure that real democracy prevails in the countryside.

[Question] Are you pleased with the way in which the accords signed in Rzeszow have been implemented?

[Answer] Certain delays have occurred. The government should realize that these accords are as important as the Gdansk agreements. If dialogue with the entire nation is to be continued it should be firmly based on both the Gdansk and Rzeszow accords.

WARSAW SOLIDARITY ANNIVERSARY EXHIBIT DEMOLISHED

AU081355 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Sep 81 p 5

[Staff report: "Solidarity Exhibition in Warsaw Steel Combine Destroyed"]

[Text] During the nights of 28, 29 and 30 August unknown persons obliterated with paint and tar the photographs and captions displayed at an exhibition at the Komuna Paryska Square marking the anniversary of the worker protest of the Warsaw steel combine workforce and illustrating Solidarity's activities in the past year.

In a Telex sent to the editorial boards of some newspapers, the radio and television committee and the prosecuting bodies, the Solidarity Presidium of the Warsaw steel combine describes and protests the demolition of the exhibition and condemns the perpetrators.

Maj Witold Zawadzki, press spokesman of the Warsaw militia command, told us that the Warszawa-Zoliborz militia is investigating.

HIJACKER WAS FORMER SOLIDARNOSC MESSENGER

LD081640 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1430 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] According to a report from the Warsaw Voivodship prosecutor's office today, 25-year-old (Jerzy Dygas), the latest person to hijack an aircraft to West Berlin, prepared this act together with 19 year old Pawel Konski and 22-year-old Antoni Poczatek. After the aircraft landed at Berlin's Tempelhof Airport, they asked for political asylum. Pawel Konski and Antoni Poczatek were unemployed and had previously been convicted. (Jerzy Dygas), who personally carried out the hijacking, was recently a messenger in the editorial office of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly in Warsaw. He has already been punished for illegally crossing the border of the Polish People's Republic.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES DEFENSE EMPLOYEES' TU MEMBERS

LD081726 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Today the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski received a delegation of the Presidium of the Main Board of the NSZZ of Armed Forces' Employees with its chairman (Jan Lagno). During the meeting, the premier familiarized himself with the union's work in the Armed Forces. The unionists outlined problems of interest to the community of Armed Forces' civilian personnel and the state of implementation of tasks outlined in the resolutions passed by the founding congress and arising from statutory obligations.

The premier made known his position with regard to the problems which were raised and gave assurances of his sympathetic attitude toward the needs of communities of employees and the union's constructive activities.

JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION URGES MEDIA AGREEMENT

LD082010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] A press conference was held today at the Main Board of the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP]. It was stated that the statement by the five representatives of the SDP leadership dated 10 August should not be viewed as a statement against the government but as a polemic with the mass media.

It is stressed that the SDP does not intend to play the role of a third political force nor does it wish to play the part of one of the sides in a conflict. A statement by the SDP Main Board dated 7 September was handed to those taking part in the conference. This statement says, among other things, that the Main Board regards it as its duty to appeal to the first national congress of Solidarity and to the leadership of the radio committee to conclude forthwith an agreement which guarantees trouble-free information on the course of the national congress. We are prepared, we read in the statement, to undertake a good services mission in this matter.

RAKOWSKI APPEALS FOR COMMONSENSE OVER EMOTIONS

LD090812 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 9 Sep 81

[Text] The workforce of the Starachowice truck factory met yesterday with Deputy Chairman Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Workers of the largest production enteprise in Kielce Voivodship asked the deputy chairman approximately 100 questions. In reply Deputy Chairman Rakowski stressed that all undertakings by the government are designed to find a way out of the crisis. This demands that all should roll up their sleeves and start work. It is high time that commonsense prevailed over emotions. The line of agreement between the government and trade unions is being consistently observed, Deputy Chairman Rakowski said.

GENERAL NOWAK ADDRESSES THIRD PZPR PLENUM 2 SEP

AU081435 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Sep 81 p 6

["Abridged version" of speech by Army Gen Zbigniew Nowak, Central Committee candidate member and vice minister of national defense, at the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 2 September]

[Text] The defense of the state against the external and internal enemies is the most sacred duty of all Poles who value the fatherland's fortunes, independence and security. This defense calls for society's maximum mobility and high discipline. These features are especially necessary now when efforts are being made to get the country out of its profound crisis.

Today, when hostile forces want to use the Poles for political games, Poland's role and place in the Warsaw Pact defense system impose on us a special responsibility, because we all know that an unstable Poland is a threat to peace in Europe and the world.

The country's international and domestic situation requires that our society be more sensitive to the issue of the country's defense, security and peaceful development. The Armed Forces are the state's specialized and particularly sensitive element, which must be highly mobile, manageable, cohesive and disciplined under a single command.

Our Armed Forces well understand the entire complicated nature of our links and the correctly interpreted class meaning of the foreign policy of our state and of the entire socialist community, especially the need to intensify internationalist ties and allied cohesion with the Soviet Army and other allied armies. We draw the correct conclusions from these facts and translate them into specific results of soldierly duty.

That is especially necessary now--in the country's complicated situation, which is characterized by the ideological and political disorientation of some communities and whose temperature is being raised by recurring tensions, and which the enemies of our socialist fatherland continue to create in various regions of our country. All this is making a highly negative impact on the country's defense capability, especially on the performance of the special industry [przemysl specjalny].

We take the view that the time has come for stabilizing factors to take action in our economy. The time has come for everyone to realize the threat created by the destructive activities of the extreme Solidarity groups who put to the test the process of socialist renewal.

The Ministry of National Defense is vitally interested in improving the ways by which the defense industry and its individual factories are run and in streamlining their self-government institutions. Military enterprises have developed over the years the necessary forms of harmonious cooperation between management and workers' self-government groups.

The Ministry of National Defense takes the view that the legal enactments concerning the activities of workers' self-government groups in the defense production factories run by other departments, which engage fully or partially in special production, should reflect a similar spirit. All the enterprises charged with special production must retain the directive system by which tasks concerning the country's defense and security are laid down.

The improvements in the defense systems are carried out in line with the agreements and obligations of the Warsaw Pact countries under long-term arrangements. Long-term agreements are made, specialization is delimited and obligations are allotted, which involves comprehensive organizational-technical, investment, cadre and training measures.

The importance of this issue and the awareness of the responsibilities involved are strong arguments to show that defense production must not be made dependent exclusively on the workers' self-government groups or on the tendencies of certain communities. The overriding superiority of our aims is a strong argument to show that the workers' self-government groups in the factories charged with special production should be legally obliged to undertake such production in line with the division of the appropriate directive tasks.

In light of the above it is impossible to agree to the proposal of the Solidarity network that does not take into account the need for different legal enactments with regard to the enterprises charged with special production and to their self-government groups. Aside from the directive production tasks, we have to insist on issues such as managerial appointments, the organization and liquidation of enterprises and shops and the preferences for special production, which are observed in the defense industries in all countries.

The Armed Forces are for the self-government groups that will help consolidate the socialist character of our economy and state and that, conscious of their responsibilities, will implement production tasks for the benefit of the country's defense and security.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS COALMINE PZPR PREMISES RAIDED

AU081240 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Sep 81 p 8

[PAP report: "Thorez Coalmine Premises Raided"]

[Text] On the night of 2 to 3 September unknown persons broke into the premises of the PZPR plant committee, the Miners' Trade Union and the Union of the Socialist Polish Youth at the Thorez coalmine. The records office of the coalmine was also raided and pass blanks were stolen. The premises were demolished in that, inter alia, all the locks of the writing desks, lockers and so on were torn out. Attempts were made to break into a safe containing party cards. All office materials and documents were thrown out of the writing desks and lockers. Two portraits of Lenin were destroyed: One, which was hand painted, was torn to pieces and the other, which was sculpted in wood, was damaged by a sharp implement. The losses have still not been established. The militia organs are investigating.

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON RELATIONS WITH SOLIDARITY

LD050009 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, by unidentified correspondent; time and place not given--live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] Part of society, it is hard to say how large--I am quoting your words from an interview not long ago--supports the government, but this support is most often passive. Their number would certainly be greater and the support more active if the government, the administration, and also the organs (?dependent on it) acted more precisely and, at the same time, more decisively. In your recent press statements you refer to the talks with Solidarity which were broken off, those of 6 August. Why is this?

[Answer] Perhaps I will first reply to the first part of the question. Well, one can certainly always say, in almost every situation, that activity ought to be more efficient, more resolute, and more competent. I think that in the recent months the government to which I belong is striving to act as efficiently as possible, and as competently as possible. However, as I have explained on many occasions, and I will reiterate, the government's scope for action is also limited. I do not wish to say that there are no delays in our action or that we are always efficient every step of the way, but please understand that we are living in a completely new situation. For instance, I have spoken of this and I reiterate it, the cabinet of General Jaruzelski has changed a lot in recent months. This cabinet contains excellent specialists, excellent politicians and scientists too--I would mention here Professor Rajkiewicz and Professor Zawadzki--but, after all, the situation in which we are acting is shaped not only by that group which sits in the ministries or by groups of ministers. In addition, there is an administration of many thousands; there are, in a word, large groups of people. When all is said and done these large groups of people must also have the time to learn how to act in the conditions in which we find ourselves, new methods, new ways, to act differently. After all, in order to act differently one has to have time and one has to have the conditions for it. For instance, there must be, I would say, a certain social calm and there must also be conditions in which I can plan my activity in peace or in which I can assess things that cause me anxiety in a state of calm, without pressure. There must be conditions for me to be able to consider what is wrong with my activity, if that activity is really new in comparison with what I did before, and so on. [sentence as heard] That cannot be altered overnight, nor from one month to the next. After all, today a situation has come into being in which, at times, I receive certain appeals. Not long ago I received one from the vicinity of Szczecin. A controller from the State Inspectorate of Trade uncovered goods which had been hidden in a shop by a salesgirl, goods which were valued at Z145,000. This letter protested against this. That is obviously understandable, but we were burdened with the responsibility for this. That is to say that Jaruzelski, Mach or I myself are responsible for the fact that there was a dishonest salesgirl there.

[Question] That is one individual example.

[Answer] No, that is not just an individual example.

[Question] But that is a way of thinking which I can understand. The government is blamed, among other things, for incorrect decisions and incorrect behavior or actions by the administration. However, you have not replied to the second part of my question. Let us go back to it.

[Answer] Of course, but I would just like to add that everything I have said does not in the least mean that we are always in the rear, that we are overtaken by events. I reject outright the view that is voiced by my partners in Solidarity that the government is always late and needs a push. We do not have to be pushed. For example, if our critics ensure better work discipline, fewer strikes, less tension, we will have more goods to share out.

We will get out of the difficulties more quickly and I believe that the reasons for the criticism being leveled against us will disappear. Even though I do not have a negative reaction to this criticism, this is not the issue. I simply want my compatriots to have the most objective assessment possible of our capabilities and of our good will. I will not allow myself to be accused by anyone saying: Look, this man is a bad Pole; I am a better Pole. I want the good of Poland while he just sits there and looks after his position. There is a general feeling that we are just sitting there and looking after our jobs.

As for the second part of the question, when you asked me the question I thought for a moment about why I continually revert to these talks at the beginning of August. Well, I think that this is a purely human matter. I attached a great deal of importance to a positive conclusion to these talks which were begun at the initiative of General Jaruzelski. He was the one who said that it is worthwhile talking with the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. That was the period of the so-called hunger marches, when the intersection [of Aleja Jerozolimskie and Marszalkowska Streets] was blocked. And in connection with this we were very keen on signing an accord or a joint communique because I counted on there being an end to these protest actions which are destroying our country and which do not only destroy the economy but the nation's mind too. Well then, during that night--later it was said, and I too heard remarks to this effect, that Rakowski had broken off the talks. [as heard] I replied that it was not I who voted against that working document, it was not the government side which raised its hand against it but our interlocutors. But before that, in this very office, Mr Walesa was sitting here. He and I were the first to receive this draft from the working group. He read it and mumbled: Well Mr Premier, he said, this is not what I would expect nor what I would want. This really is a compromise document, but this is always the case. Let us sign it. Half an hour later the position of our partners changed totally. I am still unable to free myself from the disappointment, and it is still a weight on my mind. Just imagine, the so-called Warsaw agreement, with which I was very much involved, and it was my first great experience as deputy premier dealing with talks with the trade unions, did not leave such a mark on me as this session here during the night of 6-7 August.

[Question] Please allow me, Mr Premier, to return to the subject which you mentioned a moment ago, namely Solidarity, which is accused of whipping up public sentiments, of making constant threats of strikes or declaring them. Lech Walesa tried to defend himself recently [words indistinct] saying that all that his organization has achieved in the course of the year is due to the method of confrontation. If the government acted faster and proposed solutions earlier, and not when put under pressure, there would have been no confrontation. These were the arguments. It is difficult to say that that there is no basis to such a way of thinking.

[Answer] You know, one would have to examine every case. I reject such broad generalizations as they are meaningless. They do not bring us closer to the essence, to the objective truth. I do not think that all that Solidarity has achieved has come about solely because of pressure although I am not excluding the possibility that this pressure played a certain role in some situations. But I must say that exerting pressure has, for quite some time now, become a rule, a fashion, a way of behaving, a way of life. I do not think that in the existing situation this fashion or way of behaving facilitates the settling of important social and economic problems.

I repeat once again, we--I am thinking of the government now--do not have to be hurried along or pushed. We ourselves know that many things will have to be changed in Poland. But we have a certain fund of knowledge concerning what is possible today and what is not. After all, I would like to point out, for instance, that the issue of workers' self-government, which Solidarity treated as the most important thing, was first raised by the party and the government. Solidarity joined in this issue during the second stage, whereas what is subscribed to in Gdansk concerning workers' self-government was far behind what our side, the government side, proposed. I do not think that pushing us against the wall, and this is what is going on in essence, is an effective method and, above all, I do not think that it is possible to move forward in the knowledge that the partner, or the other side, is always submitting new demands which he believes he can achieve by applying pressure.

I personally believe that this will only lead to us becoming discouraged with people using such methods.

[Question] The line of accord proposed by Stanislaw Kania at the sixth plenum is the only solution to our problems. Stanislaw Kania has stressed the role of the party and the government as the servant of society on many occasions. Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski has made similar declarations. In his television appearance not long ago Lech Walesa appealed for an end to stupid polemics. He stated that his organization prefers to serve society rather than seize power. We know the position of the Industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions. In a word, those at the top of the party, of the government, of the trade unions want things to be good. In view of this way, are things so bad? Where do the main problems lie?

[Answer] In the space of this one question you have posed several questions, or at least five problems. I will try to reply to them, but obviously very briefly. Well, I think that a central problem is the question of whether the union called Solidarity already possesses its own precisely fashioned self-image. I am not convinced of this. Furthermore, today we are more aware than we were yesterday or the day before that there are various and diverse tendencies within Solidarity, especially among the leaders. I would say that there is, without doubt, an unusually rapacious tendency: One usually uses the term radical elements or extremist elements. There is also a moderate tendency. There is great discussion on whether it should be a trade union. Well, in essence, Solidarity has already replied in the negative; it is, above all, a social movement. There are also views to the effect that Solidarity ought to fulfill both the role of a trade union and of a political party. There is a further ramification: activists who consider that by using Solidarity one can or should create a political party, a political party that obviously is in competition with the PZPR and with all the other parties which exist in Poland today. The very existence of these various tendencies has to have an effect on the activity of the union, on what it does and on what it says. For instance, there is another matter which, in a way, creates situations in which there is a lack of the cooperation of which you spoke. For example, we have been reproached on several occasions, and especially in recent weeks, in the last 2 months, for veering away from the August accords. In other words, it is suggested that the government side simply wants to return to the past. Well, that is simply untrue and facts show that this is untrue. I am very surprised that we are reproached for allegedly diverging from the August accords. In the course of the past year Poland has undergone a tremendous change in all spheres of life. There has been a process of a very broadly conceived democratization of social and political relations. The party has overcome its internal crisis and arrived at the ninth congress in which the party authorities were elected in a democratic manner. No one can say that people were set up for particular positions. Furthermore, there has been a lot of comprehensive activity in the economic sphere, to change the economic model. This took time, but it had to take time. The draft reform was not prepared by idiots but one cannot change such a large organism overnight. Things have to be worked out. There may have even been some delays; I am not ruling that out, but what matters is that the trend was completely clear. Finally, the trade unions came into being during this period and their functions are completely different from those enjoyed by unions before August 1980. I do not want to go into details here but I am sure that every sensible person in Poland--and I am sure that they are in the majority--notices these changes. There have obviously also been negative changes. There has been a deep rift in the economy, a crisis which, to a large degree, was inevitable. It manifested itself on such a scale that it often poses a threat to the national existence and makes everyday life extraordinarily difficult. Those are negative phenomena. The reawakening of reactionary elements, anti-Soviet, antisocialist elements in Poland, is also negative without a doubt. Here I think I must explain, for there has been a lot of controversy on the subject of what antisocialist forces are: I simply have in mind people who negate the existence of socialism, of any and every socialism; who ruthlessly reject everything that is important in socialism, everything that must be preserved, although perhaps it was not maintained in the manner in which it ought to have been. But these are all matters which are still going on. The country really is going through, is in the grip of, great transformations.

When someone suddenly says to me that the party or the government is departing from the agreements or from the spirit of the August agreements, I simply see pure and cheap propaganda. On the other hand, I must say that I am not so convinced even if I were to accept that the authorities I represent were tardy in this or that situation or the draft law on censorship had gone on for too long--even if I were to accept all this, I would have to ask at the same time whether certain Solidarity leaders are not feeling limited by the framework which the agreements have created. For instance, the agreements state that the Constitution, the leading role of the party and alliances are recognized. Yet what do I see every day? A hell of a lot of papers fall on my desk--various bulletins and utterances in which the party is very sharply attacked; they attack the existence of the party in general or party activity, and also include anti-Soviet leaflets of various sorts, of drawings or caricatures that insult the leader of the Soviet state.

Thus I must ask myself whether by any chance some of our partners or Solidarity activists at various levels do not want more room. The agreements are not a corset for us, but perhaps they are for some Solidarity activists. For instance it is now said, or in those various talks or polemics it is said, that really we unjustly accuse the activists, in their view, of wanting to seize power or of striving to seize power. There is a misunderstanding or disagreement about this.

If Mr Walesa, for instance, includes this disagreement in stupid polemicizing, then of course I disagree with him because this is not at all stupid polemicizing. It is very significant because I could quote here--I cannot since there is no time--but there are hundreds of utterances of Solidarity activists at all levels--of course not all Solidarity activists throughout Poland--who openly and brutally say that this power must be removed. And there are various instructions, recommendations and schemes, and I cannot fail to take this into account. Everyone, not only a politician, but any person standing aside must ask himself what these utterances mean, whether they are simply floating for the sake of floating. I have a note here of only one, Mr Bujak's. When he was in Silesia he said, among other things, that we are telling them--that is, the authorities--for the first time that we shall manage the economy, production and distribution ourselves. Excuse me, what is this? Does this not announce that someone is trying to take over power? What power? Is it only security, troops? Or are there other attributes? Is that right?

There are a great many such answers, similar but much less ambiguous answers. I recently received an open letter from a certain lady to the leadership of the National Consultative Commission which she had not posted, asking me whether in my view she could send this letter. And in this letter--I have it ready here because I knew that you would come--she says openly that you want to take over power. The only thing is, what would you do with it? she writes. An inseparable characteristic of the authorities is their responsibility for the power they exercise. Besides, after such a dose of petty criticism one should demonstrate quickly what one is capable of. Surely you do not have a magic wand which, with the help of the words of a spell, would make Poland an affluent country immediately?

[Question] Was this letter signed?

[Answer] Yes, it was, but as far as that is concerned, I cannot give the name because a few weeks ago I received a letter from another lady and this letter turned up in the press. I thought it was interesting. Later she sent another letter and said that she would very much like me to keep her name to myself because the publication of that letter caused her certain unpleasantness. An unpleasant situation arose; she was simply refused a place in a hall of residence. She was given to understand that there was no need to make such statements. In any case I shall add here by the way that the letters are usually signed. I receive very few anonymous letters.

[Question] Let us perhaps return to the issue of letters in a moment. And now let us continue our (?discussion).

[Answer] Yes. Perhaps to conclude: You asked why everyone has good intentions but nothing comes of it. I think that this is because there are many things that are unclear here, and one must say so openly, concerning the role of the trade union and its aspirations. Perhaps it is also necessary--this is not my idea, this is an idea that has been circulating: Comrade Barcikowski put it forward yesterday, at one time also my boss did--perhaps one should simply now move to the next stage and create or propose a general agreement which will clearly define the framework of activity for all social organizations, including trade unions, or which will define the shape of the coexistence of all those bodies. I advocate this sort of thing and I am afraid that if this is not done then every minute we will be tripping ourselves up over some conflict or other.

[Question] At the recent third plenum of the party Central Committee, Marian (?Pawel), first secretary of the party committee at the Torun tops spinning mill, had Solidarity in mind when speaking of the social approval of self-government. I shall quote his words: This union is 95 percent comprised of workers, which speaks for itself. Hence the statements of some comrades about the Solidarity union as an opponent are unacceptable. It is possible and necessary to speak of specific Solidarity activists who are trying to conduct adventurist, antistate activity, and to unmask them publicly by naming them and giving facts.

You, Mr Premier, are attacked by some Solidarity activists because you call a spade a spade, forcing one to adopt a concrete stance. May I ask for examples?

[Answer] Yes. Perhaps I shall also comment on your question, that statement [word indistinct]. I agree with him. When we speak about Solidarity, or about certain facts, we never say Solidarity in general. We criticize certain tendencies, certain phenomena and certain people. As far as people are concerned perhaps we criticize too few because we often meet with a demand that we should state clearly who has what views. And this is correct.

On the other hand, we make no generalizations because one could in this way offend many people who belong to Solidarity, people who are in this trade union because they are of the opinion that they can, acting together with it, properly look after or effectively strive for protection of the interests of workers. I also know that there are Solidarity activists who cooperate magnificently with the other existing unions, industrial unions, or party organizations. And it would simply be an insult to those people, [words indistinct] dishonesty or even, I am trying to find a stronger word, if they were all branded the same and were displayed with the words: There you are, Solidarity is no good. I oppose this, but I would also like to demand this differentiation from others, from my partners. Actually it is a fact that I am set up as a target since the party and government in general are attacked. Later aim is taken at the nearest target because it is the chairman of that committee at whom one can direct one's blows. Of course I do not conceal the fact that attacks of this sort, or descriptions of my actions by means of reckless words, do not fill me with delight. But I simply put it on the bill of necessary losses.

But I recently read a report in TRYBUNA LUDU from the Sosnowiec mine. Solidarity, together with the leaders of this organization, prominent people in Solidarity, discussed the subject of those free Saturdays, the introduction of those eight working Saturdays. One of those participants in the discussion--one of the Solidarity members, not someone from the leadership--said that we ought to try once again and then we will be able to spit in Rakowski's face. I must say that was nicely put, wasn't it? I never use such words about any person whatsoever who is a member of Solidarity. I could quote many expressions of this sort. One of the directors was telling me about talks with a Solidarity activist at a local level, from a factory, who said to this director: You talk like red pigs in the Central Committee. Of course one could say that these are extremes. Yes, expressions of this sort are extremes. But why should we not talk about all this? Why should I be the one made to suffer and meekly listen to accusations which are frequently unjustified?

I came across this example in documents of the KKP: attack campaign against Solidarity. Or perhaps it was really criticism? Cannot one accept criticism? Why must everything immediately be a matter of attack and campaign?

It is very nice to say this, for after all it can set off a series of telegrams right away which, by a strange coincidence, land on my desk from various parts of Poland. For it seems that there are certain telepathic talents which are deeply rooted in our society and it is well known that as soon as someone cries out attack or campaign, telegrams are set in motion immediately, out of simple telepathy, and there is protest against the attack and the campaign. What is that for? What is the point of such activity?

[Question] Can one say, Mr Premier, that you are speaking of the declaration of a struggle against the government?

[Answer] You know, I would not like to subscribe to an opinion formulated so harshly, but it is a fact that--according to my observations and I must observe--an essential change has taken place in the criticism of the government. In the first months, up to the party congress, the authorities were criticized in general. During recent weeks or in the last 2 months very specific criticism has been heard. The government is (?clearly) attacked or criticized, sometimes very harshly. I feel that very often there are no grounds for this. It is simply said that this government is inefficient, that it should be changed or that it has nothing to show. In a word, after being protected for a certain time, it became the object of criticism.

I want to repeat that I do not have anything against criticism that is sensible, justified, and based on the facts. But I am a resolute opponent of this criticism which is merely full of phraseology. No, I do not accept anything of this type.

[Question] Are the protests in our country spontaneous or organized?

[Answer] That is a justifiable question, for I too have encountered the thesis that these so-called hunger marches, for example, were spontaneous and if they were framed in organizational control, this was just so that the spontaneity would not be diffused. But then we raised the cry that something was not quite right in these hunger marches, that they simply aroused unnecessary passions, harmed Poland and our national interests and hurt our international image. Apart from that it is not true to say that there is hunger in Poland. Without doubt, (?first of all) there are very difficult living conditions. It is often difficult even to obtain those rations for which there are coupons. That is true. But one cannot say that the government--for such slogans were raised--is deliberately starving the nation. And then [words indistinct] after these protests of ours, the hunger marches vanished. I do not know--I have not considered--whether this spontaneity made its appearance and then decided one day that this was enough.

Seriously, I feel that many of the protests of this kind were not at all spontaneous, and there is proof of this. Basically, we are in torment, and we do not mean the government: The whole of society has been unremittingly tormented for a year by successive protest actions which, I am convinced, are leading the society to exhaustion.

[Question] (?Tension creates) a state that is very onerous for everyone. The majority certainly wants peace.

[Answer] Yes. Apart from that it is true--I at least have such a feeling and judging by these letters I have already referred to, it can be clearly seen--that the large part of our society has had enough of this living in unceasing restlessness. One never knows if there will not be some other big strike again tomorrow or some demonstration. And often, believe me, actions of this kind are often organized for absolutely unnecessary secondary causes.

[Question] You spoke of letters; you receive a lot of them. What is the mood that comes out of them?

[Answer] In general the mood is clearly changing. I find it significant that the young are beginning to write to me, as is the 25-40 year-old age group. Just 3 or 6 months ago I was not receiving such letters, or very few of them. I was receiving them in general from a very mature generation which is or was rather frightened by certain facts of which we spoke earlier.

This situation is now changing. There is a new phenomenon here: Solidarity members write to me quite often now. They are critical of actions by various leaders. This is a new phenomenon, it has not happened before. Naturally I cannot quote all this here, but, for instance, one gentleman from Wroclaw writes: [Word indistinct] people are tired of strikes. The opinion is gaining ground that Solidarity is only capable of strikes and confrontations. Women are beginning to grumble more and more about this trade union movement, since they see a clear link between strikes organized by this movement and the empty shelves in the shops.

A gentleman from Warsaw writes: I know various people, some belong to the party, others do not; some are deeply religious, others are members of Solidarity. These people are indignant at the lack of responsibility, the lack of respect for the authorities, the entire destructive influence of Solidarity--keeping people constantly at the boiling point, encouraging them to destructive actions that take up so many labor hours; recently the use made of vehicles and petrol. We are paying for it all. Is that patriotic?

Here is a gentleman from Bydgoszcz: It is none other than Solidarity that has made the country, over the past few months, face a national tragedy. Who else opposes and complicates all government moves to stabilize the economy and get out of the crisis? Who else, if not Solidarity, proclaims hostile propaganda, hostile writings, Posters, Pamphlets and so on? Well, I do not wish to generalize all this.

[Question] Since the letters vary?

[Answer] Yes, of course. Let me be properly understood. You asked me what tendencies I discerned from those letters. Well, these are new tendencies. There was no such criticism of Solidarity activists even a few months back. I would like once again to dot the i: It does not follow from this that, in general, this is the prevailing opinion among the public. It is important to say this, since someone who is listening might suddenly think: Well, Rakowski has at long last managed to get hold of such letters, made a careful selection and given it to us. Of course the letters vary. However, this is a new tendency.

[Question] In many letters to the television and, I suppose, to you, women show their concern over the situation. They are not concerned with the problems of buying food or detergents, but over the development of the situation.

[Answer] Yes, this fact is also obvious to me. I see it. I have already said that I have enormous understanding for Polish women and I am full of respect for their battle with everyday reality and their position--this kind of patience and toleration of these difficulties, am I right? It is difficult to build another monument here, but a monument of this kind to the working woman who tries to ensure that her family has everything it needs should be erected at some stage. Let me complete my reply to this question by saying that I wish that men who so easily resort to strikes, men who so easily have recourse to various demonstrations, would first ask their women what they worry about, what they are frightened of.

I think that it is women who should launch a slogan in Poland: Let us not be afraid of peace, for peace is needed for Poland.

[Question] To dwell on the prevailing mood a bit longer, TASS and all the world news agencies have told us that reservists have been called up to take part in air, land and sea exercises around the Polish frontiers. These exercises begin today. Specialists reckon that these will be the biggest exercises for many years. Does this, in your opinion, influence the public mood in any way?

[Answer] Well, without a doubt, yes. I mean to say that it is difficult to [word indistinct] all that is happening outside Poland's frontiers, particularly in the political, or political-military sphere and say that it has no influence on the atmosphere.

Even today someone came to see me and began to spin yarns about what might happen [words indistinct] he saw assault landing craft along the coast--but what will they do? So, since my meeting with this person began with our agreement that rumors are rampant in our country, (?I can) imagine that these Soviet exercises, too, will influence the atmosphere. Let us say that I think that it will be very brief, since people will come to realize that this is not what is at stake. [as heard] After all, this morning I listened to a radio communique which even contained a statement to the effect that these exercises are taking place deep within the Soviet Union and not in the direction of the west, right? Well, what can you do: Our public is in an irritable mood and will surely pass its own comment on exercises of this kind, but I think, simply, that by now we have become so used to rumors that we shall manage to survive this one should any rumors on this subject surface at all.

[Question] The issue of wider access to radio and television still remains controversial; access by Solidarity, that is.

[Answer] I know this subject very well and this slogan, too. Well, my view on this issue differs from the views of those people within the Solidarity leadership who always voice this slogan. I would like to recall the first period of my work in the Council of Ministers when the SOLIDARNOSC weekly did not yet exist. At that time, the people with whom I spoke from the leadership of this organization told me: Mr Premier, as soon as we have the weekly, the matter will be closed. All we want is the weekly. So, after much tribulation--since, above all, we had trouble with premises--the weekly did appear. What are the facts now or, rather, what does Solidarity have, what has it achieved in the space of a year? I have already talked of this before but people often pay little attention to what is being said. Well, the Central Council of Trade Unions press was created over a period of several years. The same was the case with party press. I remember during the forties when there were two or three dailies which subsequently grew in accordance with needs. There is a certain process. Well, among the most important titles, today we have: JEDNOSC, a weekly published in Szczecin with a print run-off of 100,000 copies; KWADRAT, published in Szczecin with 45,000 copies--all these are journals--SOLIDARNOSC with 50,000; SOLIDARNOSC JASTRZEBIE with 50,000; ODRODZENIE published by the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Zielona Gora Voivodship with 100,000 copies. Moreover, added to this we have hundreds of works bulletins which are often published with a print run-off of 10,000 copies; We have the WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC, which the prosecutor's office has halted and which, I think, had 20,000 copies, or even more. So much for that. It seems to me that there is quite a lot considering that it's a year old and taking into consideration the trouble and difficulties concerning paper.

Another matter: I do not think Solidarity activists are unable to make their views known in the press, radio or television. As for me, I have not had as many interviews as Mr Walesa or a few other leading Solidarity activists; no politician in Poland has. Furthermore, interviews have to do with direct speech. They are not something that a newspaper prints. Moreover, and I have noticed this as far as television is concerned, Solidarity's experts take part in various broadcasts and accounts are put out of Solidarity meetings of various kinds. The same is the case as far as radio is concerned. Apart from this, the amount of information about trade unions in general, and Solidarity in particular, contained in the press, including the party press--well, we have had nothing like it in Poland. It is, moreover, a unique phenomenon worldwide because nowhere does the press write so much about trade unions.

Well, let us say that probably Solidarity represents a social force, right?

[Question] Right you are, and Solidarity is talking of social control over radio and television?

[Answer] Yes. Well, I am of the opinion that this is simply a catchy slogan.

I suspect that some people, repeating this slogan: We demand access, do not even know what's what, since access often means that a journalist--frequently one belonging to Solidarity--talks with another member of Solidarity or an activist of this organization. This is also access. However, it is known that the conflict revolves around something else: completely independent editorial work, without control, etc. And this is an altogether different kettle of fish. In a recent television program, a relatively young Solidarity activist (Wladyslaw Frasymiuk) said that one of the organization's successes was survival within a totalitarian system.

[Question] Survival?

[Answer] Yes. I remember well what he said: It is a great success that the union has survived this year in a totalitarian system. Well, when I heard this, I thought: Young man, what do you know of totalitarian systems? If we had had a totalitarian system in Poland, he would not have been sitting in a television studio--more likely he would have been sitting somewhere altogether different--and he certainly would not have been addressing people through such a vista, but through a different one, to just one man taking a peep in every now and then. All this stems from the fact that opinions to which crowds readily subscribe are being peddled and I do not blame him for this. But I do blame people who are older and wiser--I here use the word wiser consciously. Let them exert some sort of influence on these young people in Solidarity, often very good young people; let them teach them some concepts, for it will be useful for the nation and Poland today and tomorrow.

[Question] Mr Premier, you are all for partnership, but what does that currently mean?

[Answer] Well, this is a difficult question. I conceived of partnership not just as a concept but also as a practice in which two sides sit facing each other inspired not by a spirit of battle but by the wish to find foundations for cooperation aimed at really improving the situation. This is the first thing.

Second, for me partnership means, it is true, harsh criticism sometimes or perhaps arguments as well. But one cannot reconcile with the concept of partnership the attitude of just wanting to say no. Such an attitude does not signify partnership under any circumstances.

Well, today, of course, the other side will say immediately that it is precisely the one that wishes to have partnership and that I do not wish to have it, won't it? However, I shall stick stubbornly to what I wrote in this article of mine: to respect the partner. I do not delete a single sentence from this article which was addressed to the authorities. But now I must make certain additions. I should write in this addition that my partner cannot take an attitude to me that is inspired by a spirit of battle and of militant attitude. He cannot view me as an opponent. I have already come across such a definition. This does not lead to partnership but only to misunderstandings. If this is how someone interprets partnership then this is a great misunderstanding.

I think that we really must finish now. I think that here today the questions that you have asked have prompted me to give answers that have frequently been quite unambiguously critical of Solidarity. But I have said and repeat: I shall not beat around the bush, I shall not come to such talks with a case full of "beating around the bush" in order to somehow mince every word. I believe that the truth must be said and that one must say what must be said in this sphere which is of great interest to me. But I am deeply convinced, deeply convinced, that many millions of Solidarity members really do not want confrontation, are really not adopting attitudes of just wanting to say no. There are those who say yes. There are also those who say yes, but; both these and the others form the majority.

But I swear from the bottom of my heart that I shall come forward against those who only say no, because this is quite simply destruction, this is destroying, destroying our national fiber.

If we really want our country to be a country about which it is said that it does not live off loans and does not remind one of a beggar, then really the nay-saying attitude and adopting a negative stance to everything that the authorities and the representatives of the state say lead to no good. Quite simply, I do not endorse this. It is not a philosophy or practice that suits me.

BARCIKOWSKI TV INTERVIEW ON SEJM ACTIVITIES

LD052116 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Interview granted by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, to unidentified interviewer, carried in the "Government Monitor" program--recorded--date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Sejm regulations state that deputies can group themselves together into deputies' clubs and into deputies' circles. We have in the Sejm in the present term of office three deputies' clubs and three deputies' circles. The most popular of the deputies' clubs is the Deputies' Club of the PZPR. I talk today to Deputy Kazimierz Barcikowski, chairman of the Deputies' Club of the PZPR, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, about the work of this club and the problems of the work of the Sejm. Perhaps you could say a few words at the beginning about the work of this club, about its regulations, and about the activities in the club.

[Answer] The PZPR club works on the basis of regulations which were brought into effect at the end of last year. The change in the regulations concerns the broadening of the right to initiatives by the Deputies' Club with regard to party authorities, the Politburo and the Central Committee. These regulations recognize the club as one of the party bodies. The congress confirmed this in the party statute. As far as the work of the club is concerned, it works, above all, at plenary sessions; it has its Presidium, where matters which require decisions or the preparation of club decisions are examined. But, of course, the work of party deputies, including their work in Sejm commissions, is of the greatest importance. Today, many deputies are active in subcommissions which are set up in order to work out various bills. Of course, each of the deputies active there, representing the PZPR club, remains in touch with the leadership of the club, its Presidium.

What is always of great interest is the question of the deputies' right to vote in the Sejm. I would like to say what it looks like in the club today. I have been the chairman of the club for over a year now. During this period the club has never passed a bill that makes it incumbent on a deputy to participate in uniform voting. This means that each deputy, each member of the club, has adopted a stance in the Sejm according to his individual conviction. And this is the practice. But the club has a right, of course, to pass a bill that would make it incumbent on deputies to vote in accordance with party discipline.

The work of the Sejm has changed a great deal recently. The Sejm has undergone a visible, I would put it, metamorphosis, an evolution, but it perhaps would not have been possible without vigorous action by PZPR club members, the largest club, as we have already said, in the Sejm.

[Words indistinct] for changes taking place in the life of the party during that period. [Words indistinct] so that a thoroughgoing process of democratizing these relations can take place. The club is a venue for discussion, for airing various views and stances, a place for searching for solutions. Of course, the fact that work proceeds in this way in the club itself, well, this helps the club, influencing the work it does within the Sejm, so that the club does play a part--I do not wish to use grand words, but I would like, however, to say--an outstanding part in increasing activeness and democratic forms of the Sejm's work. At the initiative of the club, one of the deputies, who, incidentally, does not belong to a party--we have people like this in our club--a 1-hour-long question time has been introduced in the work of the Sejm.

[Question] It is enjoying great popularity among televison viewers, radio listeners....

[Answer] ...And among deputies as well. That is why, instead of 1 hour, it not infrequently lasts 3 hours.

[Question] I would like to ask you a few questions connected with the resolution of the ninth party congress. This resolution says much about the significance of the Sejm. It is for a consistent development of [word indistinct] socialist democracy. It also says that the Sejm ought to use its constitutional powers to the full. Is this now the case?

[Answer] We have two issues here. [Words indistinct] the Sejm avails itself in its work of all the constitutional powers; second, is there any need to use all the constitutional powers? One would have to reply like this: Today the Sejm is not hampered by anything in availing itself of its constitutional powers. In my opinion the Sejm is using these powers. But maybe there have been cases when it had to resort to extreme powers, like demanding that a minister should resign, or do it in a demonstrative manner, at a plenary session. I would like to say, though, that even in cases such as this, very important and at the same time rather delicate cases, the Sejm makes its position known, although more often than not, it does so by way of its commissions, or else through the Sejm Presidium, or clubs.

It seems to me that the Sejm's activity today in legislative matters, such as deputies putting forward initiatives so that draft laws can be prepared, bears witness to the fact that the Sejm discharges its functions ever more actively, in accordance with expectations of the people and our Constitution. In my opinion, the Sejm makes extensive use of its constitutional powers and shows ever increasing activity also in fields such as legislative initiatives by deputies. The draft law on agricultural self-government may serve as an example here. Recently, we received from the deputies a draft law on the bar. Other draft laws are being planned. They will be presented at the initiative of deputies or a group of deputies.

It has to be stated also that today the Sejm devotes a lot of attention to participation in its work by representatives of various public or professional organizations which play a sort of mediating role. Quite simply, in its work it searches for solutions, above all legislative solutions, which would be accepted by all and would constitute the fruit of everyone's work. It also takes into consideration various proposals submitted not only by the deputies, but also from outside.

[Question] Do the resolutions of the ninth congress make it incumbent on the Central Committee and the PZPR Deputies Club to consider the matter of creating a constitutional tribunal, or of entrusting its function to the Supreme Court? I realize that a very short period has elapsed since the ninth congress--a rather hot period in our country--but one question arises here: What period of time is envisaged for legislative initiatives in this field?

[Answer] I cannot say anything concrete in reply to this question. The (?matter) will be considered at the next session of our club. However, take note that the resolution allows for the possibility of a dual solution to this matter: namely, either by setting up a constitutional tribunal or by broadening the function of the Supreme Court. It will thus be necessary to make a choice in this respect. It will also be necessary, jointly with the club, to establish the deadline for submitting the matter to the Sejm. Simply stated, I cannot today prejudge either the form or the timing of this matter. But the fact is that it has been settled that the club will submit such a matter for its own debates.

[Question] To be debated, and the club is pledged to submit this to the Sejm, so the club must meet its obligations.

[Question] The resolution of the ninth congress--let us stay with it for a moment--announces the future elaboration of new regulations for elections to the Sejm and the people's councils. I know we still have a long time to the elections, but does this mean that the Deputies Club will take the legislative initiative in this field into its own hands?

[Answer] The Deputies Club will definitely interest itself in this matter, and it will participate in the work on elaborating the new regulations when this becomes necessary. It would be difficult for me to state--I think it would not even be proper for one club to be the author of such regulations--this must be the achievements of the whole Sejm.

[Question] The assumptions for the economic reform speak of broadening the rights and the powers of the Sejm. I shall recall some of those of which I have made a note: The Sejm is to endorse long-term plans for the country's development; comprehensive programs directed toward achieving definite social objectives and toward designating the upper threshold for investment, and on maximum foregn debts. If we name only those few problems, then we can see that the scope of the Sejm's work will broaden considerably. Some people, in connection with this, put the question: Is it necessary to change the Constitution?

[Answer] Concerning these matters, the Sejm has all the powers needed for making decisions. From this point of view there is no need to introduce constitutional changes. Indeed, the draft solutions envisaged in the reform of administration--how shall I say it--very much add to the Sejm's burden, the Sejm's value, by directing to the Sejm's debates a whole series of proposals which hitherto did not enter into them. But the fact that the Sejm can take them, consider them, can decide in these matters, only confirms that it has the necessary powers for this.

[Question] There reigns today a widespread conviction that the panacea for all the ills of our country, our difficulties, economic troubles, social troubles--that all this can be solved as soon as the Sejm takes it into its hands. It is said that the Sejm ought to take over all state agendas--it ought to direct them, direct them operationally--which normally belongs to the tasks of the government. Is this possible and is it capable of being carried out?

[Answer] The Sejm takes into consideration the present social expectations and tries in its work to meet them as much as possible. I must say that these great expectations, this great confidence in the Sejm's possibilities, is extremely pleasing to us deputies. Perhaps the Sejm has proved it deserves this confidence by its own work. But we must not burden the Sejm with duties incumbent upon other state bodies. The Sejm cannot be the center of operational management, of direct responsibility for shortcomings of various individual institutions. If the duties of the Sejm were extended it would be against both the letter and spirit of the Constitution, against the role of the Sejm in the state. And it would only be possible at the expense of the legislative function of the Sejm, of its control functions--if it had direct responsibilities, then who would control the Sejm?--that is, the most important functions of the Sejm. Therefore, we always approach this kind of proposal very carefully. These proposals to involve the Sejm in direct governing are sometimes very passionate, sometimes very enticing--mostly for their authors but sometimes also for the deputies. It is both impossible and unnecessary.

[Question] In this connection, the following question occurs to me. I have a feeling that a great many authors of these proposals would like simply to shift their own work to the deputies so that the deputies work for them. I visit the Sejm very often and I think that this Sejm is probably the hardest working Sejm in the 30-odd-year history in People's Poland. Every day there are sessions of various commissions, other sessions. There is never a single empty day in the Sejm. Is it from this that this opinion arises that the Sejm ought to do everything?

[Answer] No, I think that this stems simply from diminished confidence in many state institutions, of the social life in Poland. And hence this conviction that somebody else would do a given job better--in this case the Sejm, which must demand from them a greater operativeness, a greater efficiency in their work. But at the same time we must above all preserve the legislative function of the Sejm, because nobody can replace the Sejm in this; this is its constitutional right.

The sejm is working very intensively at present; this is true, because we are changing so many things at present. The scope of these changes is greater than ever.

[Question] There also is a view--diametrically opposed to the one we have been talking about--that a deputy is our man, a man elected by us; he represents our constituency, our region. He ought to represent us in the Sejm, to impose our standpoint in a given issue. And often the question arises whether this is not an attempt at a return to the times of the Sejms of noblemen, when the deputies were obliged to defend particular interests, and when a great many matters, bills of decisive importance for the country as whole, were killed.

[Answer] Well, as a matter of fact, we are dealing here with two facets of the same matter. Because there is but one deputy, yet he has a double responsibility. He is responsible to his electors and, of course, nobody can exempt him from this responsibility. He has to express their views, their interests, but at the same time he is responsible to the state. A section of his responsibility is for decisions on a state scale, often of great importance, of outright historic significance.

In today's situation of a great growth in interest in the Sejm's activity, the electors very often put the deputies in a difficult situation, expecting from them the arranging, above all, of local matters, or perhaps they formulate stances in general state matters, and demand that the deputies observe this in the voting at the Sejm (?sessions).

This is unjust in the sense that a deputy cannot be hampered in his decisions on general state matters, for on him rests the responsibility for decisions which have great significance. And entirely inadmissable are attempts at exerting pressure in an organized manner on the deputies.

We have cases in which some Solidarity cells, often in a very brutal way--let us say, talking with the deputies--demand their adopting an attitude favorable for them in the Sejm, often on very detailed matters. [Word indistinct] the deputy cannot be restricted.

[Question] It is said...

[Answer] He is responsible for everything he does in the Sejm, to his electors; but also he must have the possibility of adopting a stance in accordance with his conviction, knowledge, conscience.

[Question] Simply, the tackling of bills in the Sejm has not only become very democratizied, but it has also, as it were, become socialized. One can see this in numerous discussions which take place on various draft bills. To recall a few: the bill on the trade unions, the draft bill on the employees' self-government, the state enterprise. It is certainly good that this is happening; on the other hand, it seems to me there is no rose without thorns. In connection with this, the question arises: What are the positive and negative sides of such a system of putting through bills?

[Answer] Well, the positive side is definitely in the majority. Moreover, wider groups of people are working on the draft bills. This is done on the part of the interested organizations and this definitely influences the perfecting of these bills.

There is another matter: During the work on such difficult bills as the bill on censorship, (?today), the bills on the trade unions, the enterprise, self-government--important ones in which large groups of the community are interested--during this work an outline bill is formed. Its mode of adoption is formed to be passed by the Sejm. In other words, the path of this bill to life is paved much earlier. This is a great advantage.

And what is a negative side? Above all, the prolonged duration of work on a bill is a minus. It must be said that public opinion does not always discern this. The Sejm, or the activists, the deputies, are criticized because some bill still does not exist. Why so long? Someone might gain the impression that either the deputies do not work enough, or perhaps they do not even want to pass a given bill.

But the truth is--and the Sejm is always filled with people--discussions are always in progress, with disputes, often very heated, on the draft of a given bill. I could name here how many times they were discussed in subcommissions, at commissions, how many times they were the subject of consultations with representatives of various milieux, before--finally passed by the commission--they were directed to the plenary debates of the Sejm.

[Question] Comrade, how do you assess the legislative achievement of the Sejm over the last year, say from August to August?

[Answer] Well, one would have to set criteria here. The first criterium: Has the Sejm passed what was prepared, what was submitted before the Sejm for approval? Yes. No draft bills are waiting to be dealt with in the Sejm. All draft bills which were submitted after the work which we were speaking of have been passed. I mentioned here the bill on cnesorship, a very important and labor-consuming bill. This bill has already been passed. A package of other bills has been passed, bills which perhaps are not so well known to the public concerning more narrow sections of economic or social activity. On the other hand, work is in progress in the Sejm--and this too is another Sejm achievement--on a large package of bills of supreme importance: the bill on the trade unions, which has been taking a long time but is now at the stage of final decisions and final settlements, and the bill on the enterprises and self-government. Both bills are extremely important for the point of view of the economic reform and management. I have to say with regret that work on them has been prolonged. If we are to introduce the economic reform from 1 January, we cannot imagine it without a bill on the enterprise and self-government. These bills constitute, as it were, a point of departure, a basis for this reform. In passing such important bills, it is necessary to assume that life will introduce amendments to them, and consequently the legislator must also introduce amendments to his [word indistinct].

[Question] These matters are very urgent, and if I remember correctly many speakers at the Third Central Committee Plenum were appealing for a speeding up of the passing of the bill on the state enterprise and self-government by the Deputies Club.

[Answer] It does not behoove me to say this, but I think it is worth mentioning that I, too, have run out of patience because of the length of time the legislative process has taken in the case of these very bills. Public discussion on them began in March. Work on them of several months standing continues in the Sejm. But we must always try to be patient in order to complete the work in conditions of calm and prudence.

[Question] What tasks face the Deputies Club in the near future?

[Answer] The club is facing very many tasks.

But our main task will be to bring into effect the settlements which the congress adopted and which place the club under an obligation to participate in their implementation. The greatest task, I am deeply convinced, is the work on the economic reform and reform of management. Thus, all in all there is an enormous amount of work to be done. A further package of bills must be prepared which will make it possible to introduce new principles of management and of directing. This work of the club is particularly important, but it is also necessary to see that the club remains the center where views are formed on the course of both state and sociopolitical matters in the country. For instance, the club must create conditions, take care that conditions are created for an improvement of the economic and sociopolitical situation in the country. It must explain how various state enterprises implement the decisions which have been adopted by the Sejm and those which are in the stream of the main matters which the party is dealing with. At the same time it must also care about the way the community receives these matters, about the way in which the community coparticipates in solving those problems, which are our Polish problems of today.

WARSAW REPORTS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS 8 SEP SESSION

LD082043 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Today's session of the Council of Ministers discussed the proposals stemming from the decisions of the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It was deemed necessary to intensify work on normative acts whose goals are to create the legal foundation for the functioning of the economic reform.

The most urgent matters pertaining to education and educational policy up to 1985 were discussed. A draft statute on a teachers' charter was also examined and many proposals have been submitted regarding this charter. After more precise definitions and additions are made, the draft charter will be submitted for final acceptance.

The Council of Ministers passed a decree raising the lowest old age and other pension benefits in the general pension payment system that are given to workers and their families, raising the lowest benefits given to farmers and raising the lowest pensions given to war invalids and their families. The decree takes effect on 1 November. About 2.5 million people will benefit from this increase.

The government listened to a report on the implementation of the proposals made during the meeting between Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and enterprise directors. It was stated that the implementation of these proposals has been started. It was recommended that the directors be informed about the deadline and way in which their proposals would be fulfilled. The importance of authority, of the appropriate conditions for the activity of the leadership cadre, and of constant technical supervision was stressed.

The Council of Ministers also familiarized itself with a report on cases of illegal occupation of state land and land belonging to cooperative farms. This activity was assessed as being directed against the existing legal and material order. Such cases will be dealt with by the full severity of the law. At the same time, the Council of Ministers made it incumbent on voivodas to efficiently and thoroughly examine private farmers' proposals concerning the purchase of land.

FORMER MINING MINISTER KULPINSKI GOES ON TRIAL

LD081902 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] The trial of former minister of mining Jan Kulpinski started at the regional court in Katowice today.

The indictment prepared by the voivodship prosecutor accuses him, among other things, of availing himself of the services of an enterprise forming part of the nationalized economy in investment work done on his own plot in Ustron-Lukowiec, of using mining transportation facilities without paying and of making illegal material gains.

The defendant remains at liberty. After today's evidence by Jan Kulpinski the court adjourned the case in order to complete the investigation.

SEJM SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELF-MANAGEMENT ENDS WORK

LD050918 Warsaw PAP in English 0805 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Sep (PAP)--The Polish Sejm subcommittee for the draft laws on the state enterprises and workers' self-management today completed its work here with a final session attended by government and trade unions' representatives and experts.

In a statement to the subcommittee, the government plenipotentiary for the economic reform said that the press coverage of the past work of the subcommittee was imprecise and created the impression that the government was allegedly dragging its foot on the issue. The government side, he said, has adopted an open attitude from the very beginning and has always demonstrated a will to solve the most thorny matters to the gratification of every side concerned. Solutions have been found to many contentious issues and marked progress was made on other issues.

Ultimately, the government side opted for retaining the wording of the draft which says that the enterprise manager is appointed and recalled by the founding organ with the consent of the crew's council. It is also postulated to supplement the draft law on the enterprise with the provision that the manager is appointed from among the candidates selected through a competition. the competition jury should be composed of a strong representative body of the crew that is representatives of the worker council, trade unions, political and youth organizations and scientific-technological assiciations, alongside the representatives of a founding organ and a bank. This a proposal, Mr Baka said, meets half way the crews' aspirations to share in the decisions on the cadres policy.

INSTITUTE VIEWS DRAFT LAWS ON SELF-GOVERNMENT

LD071030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] The Institute of State and Law of the Polish Academy of Sciences presented its view on the government draft laws on state enterprises and on workers' self-government. The institute says that the proposed organization of self-government does not guarantee effective management by workforces. The concepts regulating property indicators [wskazniki wlasnosciowe] are also unclear. The institute advocates the conception of trust property [wlasnosc powiernicza] in accordance with which an enterprise independently manages the property entrusted to it and which constitutes a part of the national property.

NEW LABOR LAW REFORM COMMISSION APPOINTED

LD050530 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed a commission dealing with the reform of the labor law. This commission is to prepare urgently a draft of amendments to the labor code. The code should be adapted more closely to the new socioeconomic situation, the implementation of the social agreements should be justified and certain sections of this law should be brought up to date. The commission will then draw up provisions for a long-term reform of the system of the labor law and will draw up a draft of a new labor code together with executive acts.

The commission is chaired by Prof Antoni Rajkiewicz, minister of labor, wages and social affairs. Representatives of the scientific world, of union organizations, of the Supreme Court, of the General Prosecutor's Office, of the chief labor inspector and of the Ministry of Justice and other ministries concerned with this will be invited to be part of the commission. the first session of the commission will be held in the next few days.

SOLDIER FACES CONTEMPORARY 'FIFTH COLUMNISTS'

PM081506 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Aug 81 p 2

[Article by Lt Col Bohdan Woznicki: "Clashes; Such People Can Also Be Found Among Us"]

[Text] I noticed that the listeners often lost the train of thought and would lose themselves in the speaker's copious words. Indeed, that is better, I thought, better yet.

In the cigarette smoke, heavy as human weariness, sweaty gaces glistened. A small group of young factory intellectuals applauded. Comrade Garbarczyk, who had invited me to the discussion meeting, hissed from time to time: "My God, what a son of a bitch." This manly appraisal referred to the speaker, and I shared the view in solidarity with Comrade Garbarczyk. The speaker "waffled" about the interpenetration of cultures, about the very urgent necessity to mix, for example, Polish culture with German culture. Given this opportunity, we as a nation must overcome our nationalism and our anti-German feelings, which recently manifested themselves in particular when an overwhelming hunger for the Prussian traditions emerged in West Berlin. "How many good things the Poles owe solely to the Prussian tradition--the high development of agriculture in the Wielkopolska region, for example..."

I asked the speaker if he knew who Dezydery Chlapowski was. He knew that he was a Polish officer who was a member of Napoleon's immediate entourage, but he did not know that it was Chlapowski who created the universal standard for agriculture in the Wielkopolska region. The Prussian landowners learned their model farming precisely from Dezydery Chlapowski. A trifle, yet so gratifying.

Of course, I have nothing against the interpenetration of cultures--quite the opposite, I heartily support this social movement. Any aloofness in this respect impverishes the native culture and leads to parochialism. However, the problem is that the context of the interpenetration proposed by the lecturer is rather cunning. And so, for the time being, rejecting the interpenetration of Polish with Soviet and Russian cultures--until Dostoyevskiy is joined by a dozen or so Solzhenitsyns--we ought to return to the bosom of the West European cultures, to "our true cradle."

This return should be accompanied by collective acts of good will on our part which would convince our Western partners that the Poles are overcoming their national megalomania, xenophobia and nationalism, which after all are still rampant among the Polish nation. An example of such an act of "collective good will" would be a departure from the existing tradition of dwelling on battles against Prussia and the Teutonic knights in particular. Let us dwell on the battle of Legnica as an example of the armed cooperation between Germany and Poland, against...and here the speaker hesitated, but he boldly looked around the room and uttered: the flood of oriental, mongolian hordes. In our later history, we were not capable of drawing proper conclusions from the historic mission of those days from the immense opportunity for the Poles.

In the next part of the program, "Renewal of the Polish Nation", the terrible crimes committed by our forefathers were listed. Stefan Czarniecki was a murderer because he perpetrated genocide on the territories seized for Poland, Napoleon's officers were bloody thugs, and the Germans, for example, might well hold many grievances, since we strove so unceremoniously to Polonize what was really German Danzig before World War II, and since our entire pre-September policy toward Germany continuously provoked them.

His voice was soft, kind and cordial. But transmitted through a tin loudspeaker it would sound just like German propaganda during the occupation. Those traitors to the nation also spoke kindly and sincerely, though maybe a little more harshly--in this they copied their masters. This candidate traitor is more modern, because he still speaks softly. When the speaker moved on to undermining Polish rights to the Western territories, Comrade Garbarczyk stopped the latter-day quisling.

He said: "I am ashamed to have to listen to fifth columnists for the second time in my life. The first time I heard one in Ozdrkow, before the war, only that man was hooted at and driven away. Colleagues, why do you listen to such rubbish? Remember the defenders of Westerplatte, the defenders of the Gdansk post office. Who was provoking whom then, and who is provoking us today?"

Garbarczyk was right, because he understood and sensed the venom which oozed out of the "Renewal of the Polish Nation" program. But many young people from the "factory intelligentsia" group took exception to Garbarczyk on the grounds that everybody has a right to express his opinion. The point referred to the interpenetration of cultures, and anyway our main aim should be a further (only this time without any economic mistakes) open access to the West.

"Let us discard at last this stupefying Polish national myth of the 'drang nach osten,'" the speaker summed up. "This is an outworn past. The truly Polish borders in the West were stable, and the Teutonic knights and Nazism were merely infamous episodes in secular Polish-German cooperation."

With real relief I left the suffocating, smoke-filled meeting. The cigarette smoke stung my eyes, and the smokescreen sent out by the speaker rent my heart. I thought to myself: Whom and what does the lecturer represent? How can one fall so low and lose national dignity? Perhaps the speaker would refer to a more concrete program? I wondered which "firm" had sent over its troubadour. It sounded familiar, but these "firms" have not previously stipulated any revision of our borders. I think, however, that if we look around attentively we will find the "propaganda establishment."

Here I had come face to face with the contemporary fifth column. Its program, as the speaker so fecklessly betrayed, is clearly cunning; on the pretext of the interpenetration of cultures to achieve once again the "opening of access to the West," but this time instead of economic ties, a wide front of ideological-political ties.

What will be the next phase? The trail is clear: It is clear from the attempt to revise the Polish status quo in our western and northern territories, in order to reproach us with provoking the Germans before September 1939, to suggest...precisely that we give back some sectors of Polish territory, perhaps?

To say that this territory has been drenched in the blood of Polish soldiers is no catchphrase. We Poles have a right to this land ensuing from historical rights and from the rights contained in the tragic death of six million of our citizens.

I told the speaker: "Our frontline forebears handed down to us, in their soldiers' legacy, the hard duty of defending Polish borders. And we will carry out this duty. Anyone trying to weaken Polish borders by his activity will be treated as an enemy. We Polish Army soldiers uphold the law and duties stipulated in the Constitution, and we give warning that we have long since drawn the conclusions of history, that we stand to guard the borders of the Polish People's Republic and will stand unyielding. We are for freedom of conviction and of speech, but we do not grant that privilege to the potential enemies of the nation and of the country."

TV REPORTS ON JOINT POLISH-SOVIET TROOP TRAINING

LD090816 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Excerpts] The joint training of servicemen of the sub-units of mechanized troops of the Silesian District and the Northern Group of Soviet Forces is taking place at one of the Silesian Military District training grounds. The units which are undergoing training are commanded by Soviet Senior Lt Aleksandr Kogay and Polish 2nd Lt Moroslav Gorny.

A well-tested method of training has been applied consisting of mixing Polish and Soviet soldiers in squads (?operating from the military vehicles of the infantry). Thus, for example, in one of these vehicles Corporal Wladyslaw [word indistinct], and an excellent rifleman Viktor [words indistinct] Private Edward (Wiskel) and Lance-Corporal Leonid [word indistinct] are training together. [passage omitted]

The sub-units of Polish and Soviet soldiers which are undergoing training carry out joint offensive and defensive maneuvers in accordance with the principles of tactics which are in force in both armies. The joint training of soldiers of various services of the Silesian Military District and the Northern Group of Soviet Forces has a tradition of many years. It serves not only the improvement of the soldiers' skill in conditions approximating the modern battlefield and in the exchange of training experience, but it also provides for a closer mutual acquaintance of young soldiers and for the strengthening of the allied fraternity of arms.

PARTY DELEGATION VISITS MOSCOW CPSU OFFICIALS

LD041756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] A delegation of the Ideoeducational Work Department of the PZPR Central Committee under its director, Walery Namiotkiewicz, has paid a visit to Moscow.

The delegation familiarized itself with the Marxist-Leninist training system and experiences in the mass political work of the CPSU following its 26th congress.

The PZPR Central Committee delegation was received by Mikhail Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the propaganda department of the CPSU Central Committee took part in the talk.

PAP REPORTS PURCHASES OF SOVIET FARM MACHINERY

LD071519 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Sep (PAP)--Cooperation with the socialist countries speeds up technical progress in Poland's farming, with the Soviet Union being this country's chief partner in her trade in farm machines.

Manager of the Bureau for trade with socialist countries at the AGROMET-MOTOIMPORT foreign trade enterprise, Zygmunt Kowalczyk told PAP that Poland's exchange with the Soviet Union accounts for nearly 50 percent of this country's total turnover in farm machines. AGROMET-MOTOIMPORT contracts this year cover the purchase of Soviet machines and tractors worth 150 million dollars and spare parts worth some 90 million. The key items to be purchased under the deals are Soviet wheeled and caterpillar tractors. More than every fourth tractor to reach Polish farmers this year is going to be Soviet.

The value of Soviet farm machines and spare parts to be purchased by Poland this year is going to reach 240 million dollars, over twice more than the worth of Polish farm machines to be sold to the Soviet Union.

RAKOWSKI HOLDS TALKS WITH MITTERRAND ADVISER

LD040612 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski today received Robert Pontillon, adviser to the French premier for international affairs, member of the leadership of the Socialist Party, and of the France-Poland Association. The ambassador of France took part in the talks.

INDUSTRIAL MINISTRIES REORGANIZED; NEW APPOINTMENTS

AU081018 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Sep (AGERPRES)--With a view to better coordinating the activity in machine and equipment building, in the machine-tool industry, electrical engineering and electronics, the Ministry of Machine-Building has been reorganized under a State Council decree and the Ministry of Machine-Building and the Ministry of Machine-Tool industry, Electrical Engineering and Electronics have been set up.

Under a presidental decree, Ion Avram was appointed minister of machine-building, and Gheorghe Petrescu was appointed minister of machine-tool industry, electrical engineering and electronics.

Likewise, given the special talks in the hewing and preparation of coal, ores and other raw and auxiliary materials, in oil and gas extraction, the tapping and finding of new resources, the Ministry of Mining, Oil and Geology has been reorganized under a State Council decree, and the Ministry of Mining, the Ministry of Oil and the Ministry of Geology have been set up.

Under presidential decree, Virgil Trofin was released from the office of minister of mining, oil and geology and deputy prime minister, as he is to take up other assignments.

Ion Lazarescu was appointed minister of mining, Gheroghe Vlad was appointed minister of oil and Ioan Folea was appointed minister of geology.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES ZHIVKOV ON BIRTHDAY

AU071623 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia:

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, on your 70th birthday, I extend to you warmest congratulations and sentiments of esteem and friendship on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, all the Romanian people, my wife and myself.

We are familiar with the revolutionary road covered by you as leading activist of the Bulgarian workers class and Communist Party in the struggle against capitalism and fascism, for national and social liberation, for the victory of the socialist revolution and for building the new system in neighboring and friendly Bulgaria. Under the leadership of the party headed by you, outstanding militant of the international communist and workers movement, the Bulgarian people have attained great successes in the past 25 years in ensuring the socioeconomic development of the fatherland and raising the material and intellectual living standard of the people.

All Romanian Communists and working people know you as a good friend of our people, and highly assess your active role in strengthening traditional friendship and developing comprehensive cooperation between Romania and Bulgaria.

I recall with great pleasure our frequent meetings and fruitful talks which, through agreement jointly reached, have always given new and powerful impetus to raising the exemplary cooperation between our parties, states and peoples and onto ever higher levels, on the lasting basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs and socialist solidarity.

The comprehensive cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria actively contribute to strengthening peace and cooperation in the Balkans, turning this region into a zone of friendship and good neighborliness free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, attaining security in Europe and throughout the world, promoting the struggle against the imperialist policy of force, diktat and threat of force, and resuming and continuing the policy of detente, peace and cooperation in the world.

We are firmly convinced that, by acting to consistently implement the decisions and agreements reached, the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations as well as the international cooperation between our parties and countries will continue to expand and deepen, to the benefit of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples and in the interest of the general cause of socialism and peace.

On this outstanding jubilee of your life and revolutionary activity, my wife and I wholeheartedly extend to you best wishes for long and fruitful life, vigor and ever greater successes in implementing the party program and the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, for the flourishing of socialist Bulgaria, the happiness of the Bulgarian people and the triumph of socialism and peace in the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

SCINTEIA MARKS ZHIVKOV'S BIRTHDAY WITH PRAISE

AU061815 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 6 Sep 81

["Todor Zhivkov's 70th Birthday"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Sep (AGERPRES)--Under the above heading, "SCINTEIA" of September 6 runs an article that reads: In the spirit of the feelings of close friendship, with rich and luminous traditions, that link Romania and Bulgaria, the Romanian communists, the Romanian people rejoice at this event that has a deep resonance in the hearts of all the citizens of Socialist Romania, and convey warmest congratulations to the leader of the party and of the neighbouring friendly country.

These feelings are most faithfully expressed in the message Nicolae Ceausescu sent to Todor Zhivkov, in the distinction conferred on the occasion on the Bulgarian head of state--the high order "The Star of the Socialist Republic of Romania," first class with sash--as a token of high esteem and particular appreciation of the contribution made to developing the Romanian-Bulgarian friendship and manysided collaboration.

Highlighting the relations of lasting friendship, collaboration and solidarity between the two countries, peoples and parties, relations that are deeply rooted in the past and have witnessed powerful development in the years after liberation, "SCINTEIA" writes: The Romanian people takes part in this event with the joy of celebrating the anniversary of a close friend, who, together with President Nicolae Ceausescu, made and makes a substantial contribution to strengthening the Romanian-Bulgarian friendship.

Highlighting that in the extensive process of steadily developing the Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation a decisive role is played by the relations of solidarity and comradely collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party, the newspaper points to the importance the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov--which became a current and fertile practice--have for the steadily ascending course of the relations between Romania and Bulgaria.

Giurgiu and Ruse, Turnu Magurele and Nikopol--names of deep historical resonance in the consciousness of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples and of contemporary resonance owing to the fact that upon the initiative of the two party and state leaders frequent meetings were held there laying the lasting foundations of important economic projects: in Giurgiu and Ruse--the heavy machinery and equipment manufacturing enterprises; farther on, on the two banks of the Danube, "Turnu Magurele-Nikopol" the hydrotechnical complex is being built.

Meeting the supreme interests of the two peoples, the Romanian-Bulgarian relations, grounded on the common system, on the lofty ideals of socialism and communism, witness steady development and expansion in the spirit of the provisions of the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance of November 1970, of the understandings covenanted at summit level by Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhibkov.

Particularly significant is the fact that in the previous quinquennium the volume of material goods exchanges doubled as to the previous five-year interval, while in the current five-year plan period it will grow by 2-3 times.

ZHIVKOV AWARDED HIGHEST ORDER, WITH SASH

AU061810 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1545 GMT 6 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Sep (AGERPRES)--Under a presidential decree signed by Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, the order "The Star of the Socialist Republic of Romania", first class with sash was conferred on Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

The high distinction was conferred--the decree shows--for his remarkable contribution to the development of collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party, between Romania and Bulgaria, to the strengthening of friendship between the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, to the promotion of the general cause of socialism, peace and international collaboration, and on his 70th birthday.

CSSR'S INDRA VISITING AT INVITATION OF GNA

Arrives in Bucharest 7 Sep

AU071521 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] A delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly led by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCS Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, arrived in Bucharest today at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

Giosan Receives Indra

AU071840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 7 Sep (AGERPRES)--On Monday, September 7, Nicolae Giosan, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, had an interview with the delegation of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, led by Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Stress was laid on the good relations established between Romania and Czechoslovakia as well as on the importance on the talks and understandings covenanted between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak for the steady consolidation of the relations of friendship, collaboration and cooperation on multiple planes, in the interest of both countries, of the cause of peace and socialism.

The joint wish was expressed to contribute to the diversification and deepening of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations.

In this context, emphasis was placed on the role of parliaments and parliamentarians of Romania and Czechoslovakia in intensifying the collaboration between the two countries, in strengthening the friendship and solidarity between the two peoples.

Talks With Burtica

AU081622 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Comrade Cornel Burtica, member of the Politburo Executive Committee of the party Central Committee, deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, met today with a delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly led by Comrade Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides exchanged views on bilateral economic relations and stressed existing opportunities to expand and diversify cooperation and to intensify trade exchange on the basis of agreements and understandings concluded at the summit level. Within the general context of these relations of positive cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples, the two sides stressed their common desire to intensify new Romanian-CSSR cooperation ventures in various fields of activity.

RCP GREETS BELGIAN COMMUNISTS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU071633 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Sep 81 p 5

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium [CPB]:

Dear comrades, on the 60th anniversary of the CPB's creation, we extend to you warm congratulations on behalf of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as best wishes for success in your activity devoted to promoting the interests of the working people and all people of Belgium and attaining their aspirations for progress and peace.

The Romanian communists follow with sentiments of solidarity the activity carried out by your party to defend the interests of the workers class and to strengthen the action unity of all workers and democratic and progressive forces in order to attain the Belgian people's aspirations for well-being, happiness and peace.

We express the conviction that the development of good relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and CPB--on the basis of principles of mutual esteem and respect, equality, autonomy, noninterference in domestic affairs and each party's right to independently draft its political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics, in accordance with the historical, national and social conditions prevailing in the respective country--serves the interests of the Romanian and Belgian peoples, strengthens relations of fruitful comprehensive cooperation between Romania and Belgium and serves the cause of social progress, security, national independence, cooperation and peace in the world.

[Signed] The RCP Central Committee

CEAUSESCU MEETS SURINAME FOREIGN MINISTER

AU041951 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Sep (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on September 4 Harvey H. Naarandorp, minister of foreign affairs and justice of the Republic of Suriname, now paying an official visit to Romania.

The interview was attended by foreign minister Stefan Andrei.

Present was (Iwan Graancogst), chairman of the National Military Council of the Republic of Suriname.

The interview occasioned an exchange of cordial greetings between the presidents of Romania and the Republic of Suriname.

During the interview, questions were approached with regard to the two countries' socioeconomic development as well as to the development prospects of the relations of political, economic and technical cooperation and collaboration between Romania and Suriname, in the field of education included. In this context, highlighted were the possibilities the two countries' economies provided for initiating a fruitful, mutually advantageous cooperation in a series of economic branches.

Likewise, stress was laid on the importance of further cooperation between the two countries in international life.

The necessity was underlined of expanding the collaboration among the developing and non-aligned countries for the consolidation of political and economic independence, against the imperialist and colonialist policies, for the eradication of underdevelopment, for the halting of the arms race, for disarmament, for nuclear disarmament in particular, for the exclusively political, negotiated settlement of the interstate litigious issues, for the elimination of force and threat of force, for a new international economic order.

The fact was stressed that the developing and non-aligned countries were vitally interested in promoting a policy of peace, national independence and detente, of equality of rights and non-interference in domestic affairs, of broad and unhampered international collaboration, since only in these conditions can they concentrate all their efforts towards independent economic and social development and secure peoples' welfare and progress.

The interview passed in a warm, friendly atmoshpere.

ANDREI MEETS WITH AL-FATAH OFFICIAL 8 SEP

AU081930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Sep (AGERPRES)--On September 8, Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, had an interview with Salah Khalaf, member of the CC of the Al-Fatah organization, who is visiting Romania.

Questions were approached of the current international life, special attention being given to the developments in the Middle East, to the political, global, just and durable settlement of the conflict in the region.

The interview, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere was attended by Khalid ash-Shaykh, PLO permanent representative to Romania.

OFFICIALS OFFER CONDOLENCES AT IRANIAN EMBASSY

AU081810 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Sep (AGERPRES)--Condolence was offered at the Bucharest embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran on September 8 in the morning, in behalf of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, of the State Council and of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in connection with the passing away of Mohammad Ali Raja'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and of Prime Minister Mohammad Javad Bahonar.

The condolence was conveyed by Gheorghe Radulescu, vice-president of the State Council, Ion Patan, deputy prime minister, Silviu Curticeanu, presidential secretary and secretary to the state council, Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The attendance observed a minute's silence before the black-framed portraits of the deceased and signed the remembrance book.

EGYPTIAN INDUSTRY MINISTER CONCLUDES VISIT

AU051518 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] At the end of the visit to our country by Taha Zaki, minister of industry and mineral resources of the Arab Republic of Egypt, an aide-memoire was signed today in Bucharest by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of the government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, for Romania and by Taha Zaki, minister of industry and mineral resources, for Egypt. The document provides for measures to continue to develop and diversify Romanian-Egyptian cooperation in industry, in the spirit of the understandings reached at summit level during meetings between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Anwar as-Sadat.

PCI'S BERLINGUER ARRIVES ON VISIT TO BELGRADE

AU062134 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Sep 81

[Text] Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the PCI [Communist Party of Italy], arrived in Belgrade today at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The distinguished guest was welcomed at the Belgrade airport by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Talks With Mojsov

LD071456 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)--Talks have opened at the LCY Central Committee Presidium between Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Enrico Berlinguer, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI]. Berlinguer is visiting our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Also taking part in the talks are Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Borislav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary, and on the PCI side, Romano Ledda, member of the PCI Central Committee.

In a spirit of friendship and full mutual understanding, information was exchanged on LCY and PCI activity in the domestic sphere. Enrico Berlinguer presented the PCI's positions and views on the topical economic and political situation in the country. Lazar Mousov spoke about LCY activity in the realization of the economic stabilization policy, about issues on the continued development of the system of socialist self-management and about preparations for the 12th LCY Congress. There was also discussion on the possibilities of the continued development of cooperation between the LCY and PCI.

Talks Continue

LD072329 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1707 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 September (TANJUG)--Talks between President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Lazar Mojsov and General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Enrico Berlinguer continued here this afternoon. They included an exhaustive exchange of views on international relations focusing especially on international conditions in Europe, questions of disarmament, development and the settlement of the focuses of crises and conflicts. Some current questions of relations and cooperatiion in the workers' and communist movement in the world were also discussed.

Meets LCY Presidium Members

LD072330 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)--A comradely meeting was held tonight between a group of members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and Enrico Berlinguer, PCI [Communist Party of Italy] general secretary; Lazar Mojsov, president of the Presidium; Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Presidium members A. Grlickov, B. Mikulic, and M. Minic; and Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the Presidium, attended the meeting. During the meeting several questions of mutual interest were discussed.

Lazar Mojsov then gave a dinner in Enrico Berlinguer's honor. Both the meeting and the dinner passed in a very friendly and cordial atmosphere.

Berlinguer Departs

LD081727 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Sep (TANJUG)--Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, left for Rome today after visiting our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Berlinguer was seen off at Belgrade airport by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Borislav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee.

During his visit to Yugoslavia, Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, held talks with Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and other Yugoslav personalities. The talks concerned the internal activities of the LCY and the Italian Communist Party, the possibilities for the development of further cooperation between the two parties, and international questions.

CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF RETURNS FROM HUNGARY

LD071920 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)--Adm Branko Mamula, Yugoslav chief of the General Staff, returned this afternoon from his visit to the armed forces of the Hungarian People's Republic where he stayed as guest of his Hungarian counterpart, Col Gen Olah. During his stay in neighboring and friendly Hungary Admiral Mamula visited some units and institutions of that country's armed forces and had talks with high-ranking military leaders.

CURRENT SITUATION, PROGRESS IN KOSOVO DISCUSSED

LCY Presidium Session

LD081625 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Sep (TANJUG)--The proposed political platform of the League of Communists relating to activity by organized socialist forces on the continued consolidation and development of socialist self-management, brotherhood unity and community in Kosovo was discussed at today's session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the basis of the conclusions of the 20th LCY Central Committee session.

The proposed platform which will be submitted to the Central Committee, agrees on the lessons which the LCY has drawn from the events in Kosovo, the results of Kosovo's economic development up to now and the prospects for that development. It also analyzes the sense and causes of the counterrevolutionary slogans and activities, sums up the experiences in connection with manifestations of nationalism in Kosovo and points to the ways and practice of a more successful realization of togetherness in the everyday life of the nations and nationalities of Kosovo. The proposed platform is also concerned with problems of the development of socialist self-management in Kosovo as the basic and crucial condition for the development of national equality, and democratic and socialist relations in our society.

The P residium was informed about the Kosovo League of Communist's activities up to now and the political situation in the province. Draft decisions on calling the 12th Congress of the LCY were discussed and endorsed at the session, and the criteria and method of electing delegates to the congress were also discussed. These decisions will be adopted by the LCY Central Committee at its next session. The Presidium also discussed other issues relating to current activity.

Serbian Leadership Discussion

LD072035 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 September (TANJUG)--The leadership of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia today upheld the League of Communists' activity in the Province of Kosovo and measures taken by the provincial and republican organs to stabilize conditions in the province, which last spring was the scene of counterrevolutionary activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

As reported, today's joint session of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidency and the Republican Presidency of Serbia assessed that the actions of the party and of other socialist forces had contributed towards gradually stabilizing the political and security situations in Kosovo. At the same time, however, the situation in Kosovo in regard to security was described as still complex and the enemy was stated to be still active.

The two presidencies also discussed the current economic trends in Serbia. A warning was sounded to the effect that the economic stabilization must be brought about above all through intensified efforts of all, through a better and more productive work, not expectations that the problems in one's own environment or enterprise be resolved by way of administrative, state measures.

Serbian Official Comments

LD071632 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1112 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Summary] Bujanovac, 7 Sep (TANJUG)--The new Levosoje-Letovica Road was opened to traffic today in connection with the 40th anniversary of the uprising and of the revolution of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and 7 September, the day of Bujanovac's liberation. The rally held to mark the occasion was addressed by Zika Radojlovic, president of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference.

I can state with pleasure that the policy of the development of nondeveloped areas in the Socialist Republic of Serbia through the fund for nondeveloped areas and as exemplified by Bujanovac has successfully passed the test, he said. We shall continue this policy and if material possibilities allow, we shall put aside more money for this purpose, he went on, adding that over 3,000 people were employed in Bujanovac Municipality and with the completion of 13 more plants the number of employed people this year and next year will go up by 2,000.

"Having referred to counterrevolutionary events from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo, Radojlovic stressed that the sociopolitical situation in this province was gradually stabilizing. The degree of this stability requires that the overall activity to completely frustrate the enemy must continue with undiminished intensity. The working people and citizens and all sociopolitical forces of Kosovo made and continue to make great efforts which are yielding results, but they are also aware of the fact that the battle has not yet ended and that (?an integral part of this battle) is to resolve many tasks in the economy which as a result of counterrevolutionary events have become more complex and more difficult than they would otherwise have been. In the solution of these and other tasks the aid and the solidarity of the working class and of the working people of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the entire country with the working class and citizens of Kosovo has not been and will not be lacking."

Having stressed that the central issue today is the struggle to bring about economic stabilization, higher production, increased exports and to curb inflation, Radojlovic advocated the opening of the broadest front of the struggle to improve productivity of labor and efficiency of economic operations.

Production, Personal Income

LD071618 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1251 GMT 7 Sep 81

[Summary] Pristina, 7 Sep (TANJUG)--At a session of the Presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union Council today it was reported that in the first 7 months of this year the volume of industrial production in Kosovo was up 6.5 percent over the same period last year. The situation in the electrical industry and in nine other industrial branches which produced less than last year must be amended, however, if this year's production targets are to be met. The financial results of business activity in the Kosovo economy, it was reported, are considerably less favourable than in the first 6 months of last year; overall income was up by 44.8 percent, chiefly due to the effect of price changes, but there was a rise in funds expended of 46.3 percent.

Distribution of income showed unsatisfactory trends, with payments of personal incomes up by 58 percent while funds for expansion and promotion of the material basis of labor grew by only 8.6 percent; organizations realizing losses in their business activity are among those showing a sharp rise in personal incomes.

The Presidium concluded that all possible measures should be taken to prevent further high increases in personal income and to link them with productivity trends.

Communal Committees Comment

AU042112 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Sep 81

[Text] Sessions of the communal committees of the League of Communists were held in several communes of our province today. The political-security situation and the measures that are being taken to normalize the situation and to implement the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo were discussed at these sessions. The sessions were held in Klina, Istok, Kosovska Kamenica, Dragas, Decani, Gnjilane and Prizren.

At all sessions it was noted that the political-security situation had greatly improved, that the scope for the enemy's activity has been greatly reduced, but that the enemy is still present in certain circles and periodically makes his presence known by writing slogans of (?hostile) contents and by (?similar) diversions in the organizations of associated labor. It was stressed that the measures taken thus far have yielded positive results, that the preparations for the new school year concluded successfully, but that there is no room for self-satisfaction because of this. The need for further strengthening and intensifying the activity of all communists and other organized socialist forces in the struggle against the hostile counterrevolutionary activity was particularly pointed out.

Veli Deva, Azem Vlasi, Petar Kostic, Sinan Hasani, Mustafa Pljakic, Ilija Vakic and Dzevdet Hamza participated in the work of these sessions.

More on Communal Committees

AU052032 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 81

[Text] After a brief lull in August, the political activity in Kosovo has resumed. The political-security situation in the province is at the center of attention. Sessions of all communal committees of the League of Communists, which were held yesterday and today, were devoted to this topic. Here is a report by our correspondent Milisav Milic:

Nearly all discussions boil down to the assessment that the political-security situation in Kosovo continues to be complex and that the enemy does not rest.

The enemy most frequently manifests himself by nationalist and irredentist slogans, by disseminating various untruths and by announcing new disorders.

At the session of the Prizren Communal Committee, it was said that the hostile activity had been particularly expressed in the villages of Dusanovo, Korisa, Zur [words indistinct]. Refki Dauti, secretary of the Communal Committee, noted that an easygoing attitude exists among communists, that there is insufficient energetic behavior and the political activity is verbal and insufficiently specific. In Dusanovo, near Prizren, a group of authors of hostile slogans was detected, but the slogans continue to appear. The inhabitants of the village of Zur publicly condemn the writing of hostile slogans, but they keep silent when it becomes necessary to divulge the names of those who write them.

In other circles of Kosovo too, the hostile activity in villages has been intensified. At a session of the Istok Communal Committee, it was noted that the villages are the hotbeds of hostile activity. However, in Gnjilane, the enemy tried to operate among workers of the textile and tobacco combines and the radiator factory. In Urosevac and Kosovska Kamenica, too, specific examples of hostile activity were set forth.

At numberous political meetings, it has been stressed that where the subjective forces were well organized, every hostile activity has been prevented. For this reason there is a justifiable insistence on greater vigilance and responsibility in all circles. The need for greater activity by the masses is being increasingly stressed.

At this moment it is more than ever before necessary to provide peace and calm to citizens. Ilija Vakic, member of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists, said and stressed that a consistent struggle against the enemy is the first priority task of the Kosovo progressive forces.

Therefore, what is necessary is an even stronger political offensive and a specific struggle against the counterrevolutionary actions of Albanian nationalists and irredentists, who are enjoying the benefits of Yugoslavia's self-managing socialism, but who are inspired by the ideology of the workers party of neighboring Albania.

KOSOVO VILLAGES TO BE ELECTRIFIED IN 1980

AU032041 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 3 Sep 81

[Text] Work on electrifying villages in most communes in Kosovo has either been completed or is nearing competion. This was noted at a session of the Kosovo Executive Council which was held in Pristina today under the chairmanship of Bahri Oruci.

In those villages which are still without electricity, work on connecting them with the electricity network will be completed, as envisaged, before the end of this year. This month, work (?will begin) on electrifying certain villages of the Kosovo Mitrovica and Pec communes. The Kosovo Executive Council obligated the pertinent provincial organs, the communal assemblies and the contractors, in view of the increased prices of electrical materials and costs, to take all measures to ensure the necessary resources in time so that the electrification of that small number of villages in the province which are still without electricity could be carried out within the planned time limit.

PEC COURTS SENTENCE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

LD081121 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 8 Sep 81

[Summary from poor reception] Prizren, 8 Sep (TANJUG)--The Prizren and Pec district courts have passed sentence on 13 members of irredentist organizations which operated in Kosovo, even after the counterrevolutionary events.

The bench of Prizren District Court passed sentences of 7 and 6 years respectively on Hamez Krijezi and Afrim Hoti for organizing the demonstrations in Prizren on 8 April and 4 May. Enver Hoti, who helped them organize these demonstrations, received 6 years. One of the forms of their enemy activity was to write enemy slogans (?attacking) our social system and authority and supporting the Albanian Workers Party. In addition, on 26 May they took part in irredentist demonstrations in Suva Reka. Students Hadji Krasnici, and Ismailj and Ibrahim Krijezi received 2 years each. In June they daubed slogans and pasted posters on public buildings calling for the overthrow of our constitutional system. Haljil Krasnici, who since 1979 has been a member of the irredentist group operating in the Suva Reka area, was also sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment.

The bench of Pec District Court sentenced six organizers and leaders of enemy demonstrations in Istok on 30 April. For having committed the criminal offense of counterrevolutionary threat to our constitutional system, Fadilu Pljakaj and Sefki Satri were sentenced to 5 years each, Husnije Pljakaj to 3 years, and Nazif Pljakaj, Ismailu Rugova and Idriz Pljakaj to 18 months each.

SERBIAN PRIESTS JAILED FOR INCITING INTOLERANCE

LD021704 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 2 Sep 81

[Text] Bijeljuna, 2 Sep (TANJUG)--The municipal magistrate in Ugljevik yesterday sentenced Orthodox priest Pero Lukic, parish priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bijeljina, to 60 days imprisonment for inciting religious intolerance among the nations and nationalities who live in the SFRY and for spreading false rumors which cause hostility among the citizens toward the state organs.

The municipal magistrate yesterday also sentenced Cvika Mojic, Orthodox priest in Bijeljina, to 60 days imprisonment for slandering and belittling the social order of the SFRY and inciting religious intolerance. The same court also sentenced Mihajlo Petric and Branko M. Petrovic to 60 days imprisonment. The municipal magistrate decided that all four should immediately begin serving their sentences.

FODDER SHORTAGE DISRUPTS MEAT MARKET IN SERBIA

AU021957 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 81 p 4

[V. Krsmanovic report]

[Summary] Belgrade, September--This year's drought has greatly reduced the production of animal fodder in Serbia proper. Expecting higher fodder prices, farmers are selling livestock--cattle, hogs and poultry--to slaughterhouses. There has never been a greater supply of livestock on the market, and slaughterhouses are unable to buy all the cattle that are being offered for sale. Several meetings in Serbia have discussed the situation in the livestock market, and the question was justifiably asked as to whether a general slaughter of livestock in Serbia is to be expected.

Since meat exports have come to a standstill, slaughterhouses do not know what to do with all the meat. However, it must be said that, despite the great supply, the retail meat prices have remained the same. Great efforts are being made to export meat, to preserve cattle and to create sufficient reserves of meat. It is also realized that reserves of fodder must be created for raising young cattle. To import the necessary protein fodder, it will be necessary to change the present regulations in the monetary-credit policy. The Federal Executive Council will be asked to take measures to stabilize the meat market, primarily to ban meat imports and fodder exports, to stimulate meat exports, to permit exports of young cattle and to create federal meat reserves.